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Anarchy vs. Socialism



NCE again the anarchists have proven themselves the dearest foes of capitalism. The story, long grown old in Europe, has been repeated here. The act of one fanatical criminal at Buffalo has rallied every force of reaction and exploitation as no avowed defender of capitalism could hope to do. It has long been recognized in Europe that in every great emergency, when the forces of oppression are hardest pressed, they can always hope that some such deed will come to their rescue.

As a result they are always kind to the philosophy of anarchy and patronize its "intellectual" leaders, while occasionally punishing their dupes with brutal ferocity when some "propaganda of the deed" leads to a police attempt to "stamp out anarchy." Each one of these periods of public upheaval is also used to secure the enactment of "anarchist" laws which are then applied to socialists.

American defenders of the established order are now following the example of their European fellow exploiters. It is now quite a fashionable thing in certain bourgeois sets to have "anarchistic leanings." They say anarchy has such a "beautiful philosophy" and that its idea of perfect freedom is so grand.

When Kropotkin was in Chicago he was under the patronage of Mrs. Potter Palmer, the recognized leader of plutocratic society, not only in Chicago, but throughout America. She wined and dined him at her house, where he was petted and praised by the exclusive Lake Shore Drive set. His headquarters were at Hull House, where he was lionized by the philanthropists and professional "good people." During all this time the manager of Kropotkin was Abraham Isaac, whom most of those who so liberally praised Kropotkin are now so fiercely denouncing. A few who have not joined in the cry of "crucify him" are cautiously ex-

plaining that they have no sympathy with his doctrines. Is this because Isaac is only a workingman instead of a prince?

These people told us that Kropotkin was only a philosophic anarchist, and not in favor of violence, and that he denounced assassination equally with his respectable patrons. Let us see if this is true. I shall here simply discuss the facts as to this particular incident and endeavor to determine the specific fact as to whether assassination was directly encouraged at the Central Music Hall meeting when Kropotkin was to no small extent under the patronage of Mayor Harrison, and when the boxes were filled with ladies in rich evening dress, although the public had been carefully informed that it was contrary to anarchist doctrines to make any reservation or distinction in seats.

In a book, Jean Graves' "Moribund Society and Anarchy," which was sold at that meeting by the very men and women who are now in jail charged with conspiracy against the life of William McKinley, we find the following quotation:

"Let us suppose a struggle between employers and workmen—any sort of strike. In a strike there are surely some employers more cruel than others, who by their exactions have necessitated this strike, or by their intrigues have kept it up longer than necessary; without doubt these employers draw upon themselves the hatred of the workers. Let us suppose one of the like executed in some corner, with a placard posted explaining that he has been killed as an exploiter, or that his factory has been burned from the same motive. In such a case there is no being mistaken as to the reasons prompting the authors of the deeds, and we may be assured that they will be applauded by the whole laboring world. Such are intelligent deeds: which shows that actions should always follow a guiding principle."

Such statements as these can be found by the thousands in the literature of anarchy. Later we shall see that they are a logical and essential portion of the anarchist philosophy, although this point is strenuously denied by many who claim to be anarchists. Let us, however, first look into that portion of anarchist philosophy which receives such high praise from its bourgeois admirers and particularly that phase which is offered as a contrast to socialism.

All anarchists agree that government, so far as it is founded upon force, should disappear. They then sing the praises of the state of perfect freedom that would remain. In contrast with this dream they place an equally fantastic and imaginary dream which they ascribe to the socialists and which they call "state socialism."

They all echo, with tiresome mendacity, a series of lying platitudes against this strawman labeled "State Socialism." From Spencer's "Coming Slavery" down to the latest issue of "Free Society,"

the changes are continuously rung on the old falsehood that socialism proposes to place all industry in the hands of an autocratic state and subject everyone to a terrible tyranny labeled "the will of the majority." Recently the single taxers have joined in this cry and we have the amazing and somewhat laughable (although not wholly logical) situation of orthodox capitalists, single taxers, several kinds of anarchists, including Tolstoi "non-residents," all assisting to raise on high, athwart the path of progress this enormous stuffed figure labelled "State Socialism." When the socialists insist with some warmth for the thousandth time that this bogie man is born of the imaginations of its opponents, the anarchists have lately begun to declare that this is a new position for socialists.

Some socialists even have been deceived by this talk and have begun to speak of "communist anarchy" as the stage next to follow socialism, as if socialism were a dream of a future society, instead of a philosophy of the present one, and that when the co-operative commonwealth had arrived socialist philosophy would cease to be true. These have also taken it for granted that socialists really proposed to do what the anarchists allege—place all industry in the control of a "police state."

But as a matter of fact, nearly every socialist writer of any prominence has, ever since the first formulation of scientific socialism, insisted that the next stage of social evolution would be marked by such an administration of things that a "government of persons" would be superfluous.

The socialists have always maintained that the state, in common with all other social institutions of the present time, is but an instrument with which to express the will of the ruling class. Its main reason for existence is the protection of the rights of private property in the instruments of exploitation. Its functions are almost wholly restrictive and negative. It is concerned with the control of persons rather than the administration of things. When this state does undertake to operate an industry it does it from the same point of view that it performs all the rest of its functions. It is tyrannical and paternal and makes it its principal object to further the interest of the present ruling class.

The materialistic interpretation of history, or as Enrico Ferri has better expressed it, "Economic Determinism," is the basis of modern socialism. This philosophy is simply a recognition and statement of the fact that economic relations determine all other social relations. The economic system of capitalism with private ownership by a few in the means of life for all has given rise to a certain set of institutions. It has given form to a certain character of religious institutions, a certain set of "moral principles," and a certain set of governmental institutions which constitute the pres-

ent state. All this philosophy is antagonized by the anarchists, who maintain that institutions and social forms are the products of the acts and ideas of individuals who are responsible for all that is good or bad in such institutions.

Socialism points out that the next stage of economic evolution will be the co-operative ownership and operation of industry. There will be no personal advantage in the possession of private property, as such ownership will have lost the power to take the fruit of others labor. Hence there will naturally be no need of laws to "protect the rights of private property." Under such conditions all the disagreeable features of government would disappear. Government would simply become an administrator of industry. This does not mean that it would be a gigantic boss, saying to this one, "Do this," and to that one, "Go there." On the contrary, as is happening even at the present time under the manifestly imperfect forms of co-operation existing in the midst of competition, the directing function, the superintendence side of industry, would constantly grow less and less. The capitalists have been quicker to see this fact than most anarchists and their sympathizers. They are continuously seeking to avoid the expense of slave drivers by various forms of sham co-operation, such as profit-sharing, pensions, stock sales to employees, etc. In a co-operative commonwealth the government would be little more than a gigantic information bureau, furnishing to its citizens exact knowledge regarding the amounts of all kinds of commodities required by the community, and notifying them where there is need of labor to be performed. If comparison is to be made at all with present institutions, the government of the future will be much more like an enormously developed "statistical bureau" of today, rather than an overgrown police department.

Thus we see that the bug-a-boo of "state tyranny" and "governmentalism" fades away. All that is good in the "beautiful" philosophy of anarchy, of which we are told so much by its capitalist patrons, is really a part of socialism. The dream of the future in both cases is practically the same. But neither can claim any originality on that score, for it is the same old dream that mankind has been dreaming ever since suffering came upon the earth. It is the picture of perfect freedom, for which the race has ever longed, of which poets have sung and romanticists drawn visions. To praise a philosophy because it has at last comprehended that such a society would be desirable is, to say the least, rather foolish.

When it comes to an analysis of the causes of present conditions and methods of reaching this ideal, the antithesis between socialism and anarchy is sharp. And this method and analysis is really the only thing that is peculiarly characteristic of anarchy. It is all that is really entitled to the name. Let us then turn our attention

to this, the real heart of anarchy. In the first place, it is the gospel of individualism gone mad. It is the aim and object of socialism to give the individual every opportunity to develop his individuality, and it is one of the strongest indictments brought by socialists against capitalism that it stifles all individuality. But just because our present society does stifle individuality the anarchist analysis of that society is ridiculous. He would have it that individuals are responsible for present social conditions. It is because some people are officials that tyranny exists. Capitalists are responsible for capitalism, says the anarchist. History is but the biographies of "great men." It will be seen that there is much in common between this and the copy book philosophy of capitalism. From this premise the anarchist deduces the natural conclusion that if there were no officials there would be no tyranny, no capitalists, no exploitation. But from his previous position he is bound to believe that the persons who take those offices and become the instruments to the accomplishment of evil are responsible for so doing. Now we are at the turning point. So far all schools of anarchy, including most capitalist moralists, agree. But now how shall we get rid of these responsible individuals? Tolstoi and those who follow him declare that all that is necessary to abolish all these evils is for every one to refuse to serve in any official capacity or to function as a capitalist. In other words, to retire into a sort of Hindoo Nirvana of self-renunciation and wait and hope until all the world shall be of the same mode of thinking, and tyranny and exploitation disappear for lack of people to serve as officials or capitalists.

This is the phase of anarchy that particularly appeals to the "parlor anarchist," if I may be allowed to add one more to an already over-long list of varieties of anarchists. This enables them to make a great exhibit of self-righteousness with little personal discomfort, allows them the use of the name anarchist for drawing-room sensations; furnishes a new fad to show to one's friends; permits the patronage of distinguished anarchists and the study of violent ones, while it leaves one free to disclaim all connection with any act of violence that may be committed. This is the kind of anarchy that we hear so much about as having such a beautiful philosophy. Whether it is beautiful or not I will not attempt to say, but if I know anything of logic and reason it is only a little short of idiotic.

But when this doctrine comes to a workman who has nothing but his chains to renounce, whose only "office" is a job, and whose only "capital" is his brain and muscle, he does not see how he can share in the conclusion or the honors of his bourgeois friend. With him the social question is one of life and death. When he is told that present economic conditions are traceable to a few individuals

he is apt to be rather impatient of the process of waiting until everyone will refuse to longer serve in official or capitalistic capacity, and decides that it would be well to make it a dangerous thing for anyone to hold such offices. This is the logic of "terrorism," as set forth in many anarchist pamphlets. Knowing the sort of human nature that capitalism produces, it is a much more logical and sensible conclusion than is Tolstoism. This is the sort of logic that produces a Bergman, a Bresci and a Czolgosz. It is only logical deduction from the premises of anarchy, and has been so recognized by far more than a majority of the writers on anarchy. It is the doctrine which is openly preached by John Most and the anarchist organs of Patterson, N. J., and Spring Valley, Ill. But because these papers are not printed in English they are less known than the works of some of the "philosophic anarchists." But these men recognize Kropotkin, Reclus, Bakunine and Proudhon as their classic writers or present leaders, and these are also the writers of the text-books of this "beautiful philosophy" of communist anarchy.

The socialist antagonizes these positions of anarchy at every point. Socialism insists, and demonstrates its position by a host of facts drawn from history and contemporary society, that economic relations and not individual caprices are at the bottom of social institutions. The social institutions thus determined constitute the environment which forms the character and determines the nature of individuals. The socialists maintain that at the present time that basic economic development has reached a point where a great change is imminent. It is the great triumph of socialism to be able to predict what that change will be, and the method of its accomplishment, and to substitute for the utopian dreams and anarchistic speculation of former ages scientific deduction from established facts. The socialist points out that this impending change must necessarily consist in the transfer of the great complex instruments with which wealth is produced and distributed from private to co-operative ownership. More important still, the socialist is able to demonstrate the manner in which this change is destined to come about.

When the ballot was put into the hands of the worker, when universal suffrage was attained, the need of forcible revolution passed away. This is especially true of any movement in behalf of the workers, since they constitute an overwhelming majority in present society. Moreover, until the laboring class are intelligent enough to vote for their own emancipation, they do not deserve to be free and would not know what to do with liberty if they had it.

Now, it so happens that the present ruling class profits by the continuation of the present economic system. Hence they are willing to tolerate, and, indeed, even encourage anything that will per-

petuate that system. But the socialists have come to realize that the days of the economic system of capitalism and anarchy are numbered and that the world is now ready for the next step in social evolution, the dawn of the era of co-operation and human brotherhood. They are seeking to educate the people to use their ballots to the end that the workers may actually become the rulers in the present state and may then use the governmental machinery to abolish all exploitation and oppression. This is the only movement that really antagonizes anarchy at every point. For this reason anarchists and socialists have ever been sworn enemies.

This again makes of anarchy the ally of capitalism. It is one of the strongest bulwarks of the present society against the coming of socialism. Its philosophy is in no way at variance with capitalism. Its logical violence serves as an excuse to inflame the minds of the ignorant against all those who would seek to change the established order. Thus it comes about that over and over again the violent deeds of anarchists have been used as an excuse for attacking the only real enemy of anarchy—socialism.

Is the line of evidence plain? I have shown that all that is good in the philosophy of anarchy is but the commonplaces of every religion, reform or social dream that the world has ever known, and that it is found in socialism in a more intelligent and logical form. I have shown that it has been able to attract the attention of intelligent people only because of a false conception of socialism, for which to some degree alleged socialists are responsible. I have shown that the logic of capitalism and the logic of anarchy are identical; that they are sister products of the same economic organization. I have demonstrated that all that is peculiar to the doctrines of anarchy are its individualistic interpretation of society, which is false, and its method of attaining its end, which is either through an imbecile quietism and affected humility and self-sacrifice, or else murderous private warfare and assassination. I have shown that this conclusion of violence is accepted by all the leading anarchist writers, including those who have been so much patronized by bourgeois society. I have shown that capitalism looks with favor upon anarchy because it sees in it a valuable ally against its only dangerous foe—the socialist movement. I have shown that the defenders of the established order have no particular desire to abolish anarchy, and could not do so if they wished. I have shown finally that the only sincere opponents of anarchy, the only ones who dare attack it root and branch and to demand that it, together with the murderous society that gave it birth, shall give way to a better order through the peaceful, intelligent action of the producers of wealth, are the socialists.

Press and police unite in telling us that the murder of President McKinley was the result of a conspiracy. Whether this be true

or not, in the sense of which they speak, whether the victims that have been dragged into the police drag-net of this and other cities were really associated with the man who did the deed is, of course, beyond my ken; but when the historian of the future shall look back upon the present age to chronicle the event we are now describing, he will see it as the result of the most gigantic conspiracy the world has ever known; a conspiracy so tremendous as to take a generation for its preparation and include a nation among its conspirators; a conspiracy, the chief actors of which moved with that marvelous accuracy which the mind only attains when working unconscious of the dictates of reason. When in the perspective of time the events of today shall be seen in their proper relations, some future writer will draw up an indictment, "In re the Murder of William McKinley. The People of the United States vs. Czolgosz et al."

But there will be many parties upon that indictment that not even the most sensational press or the most zealous police officer of today has dared to suggest. First and foremost, as the actual responsible agent, as the true accessory before the act, will come the present ruling class. They are the ones whom economic development made the arbiters of our social life. They have formulated in their interests the social institutions, governmental organization, and to a large extent the thought of the great mass of the population. They have controlled press and pulpit and lecture platform and have used these agencies to formulate a public opinion out of which anarchy could not but develop. They alone reap an advantage from this terrible catastrophe. It is the members of this class who, with ghoulish greed for gain, have been gambling upon the stock market with the bulletins from the bedside of the dying president. It is they who will reap the benefit from the blow which this act will enable their reptile press to deal to union labor. The discouraging effect of this dastardly deed upon the thousands of striking steel workers is causing a smile of satisfaction to leer across the front of the profitable "extras" that trade upon a nation's sorrow. Most prominent among those who make up this body of responsible conspirators must be put the great financial interests that control the destinies of the republican party. They it is who have resisted every attempt at change in social conditions and who see in this assassination but one more weapon ready to their hand with which to drive back all enemies of exploitation and oppression. They it is who for their own profit insist upon holding down the safety valve upon a social boiler long past the bursting point. They are the ones who have interpreted the philosophy of society along the same lines as they were interpreted by the man who fired the fatal shot at Buffalo. They have for a generation preached, with all the power which a complete

control of school and church and press and government could give them, the doctrine of individualism in all its nakedness, the doctrine of the competitive struggle as the religion of modern society, the doctrine of a "nature red in tooth and claw" as the only means of progress, the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" in a murderous private warfare upon the field of trade—all this is the doctrine at once of the orthodox teachers of capitalism and the apostles of anarchy.

Were we not told from ten thousand platforms in every city and hamlet in this land by the orators speaking for the election of William McKinley that every man had an equal chance for success in this brutal economic fight, that the position which every man held in society was determined by his own exertions, that each individual was the arbiter of his own destiny? Have they not told us over and over again that individual responsibility was the keynote of modern social organization? More than that, have they not insisted that their class and their party, which they themselves personified in William McKinley, was capable of controlling social relations and determining economic conditions so as to give or take prosperity from the workshops and the multitude of workers of this country? All these are fundamental principles in the philosophy of anarchy.

As the next party to the indictment the second accessory before the fact and accomplice in the deed must be placed that other great political party who, with identical logic, opposed the election of McKinley, and who, after the election, have declared he was responsible for the formation of trusts and all the abuses that have grown out of them. The spokesmen of this party preached the doctrine that McKinley had it in his power to stop or continue the process of trade expansion, to set the limits to economic development. They declared over and over again through their press that economic conditions were controllable by those in possession of the powers of government, and could find no words strong enough in which to denounce the man whose death they are now foremost in deploring, whose character they are now loudest in praising. This party especially adopted the anarchist cry for the reversal of economic development and the destruction of organized production. In agreement with their accomplices in the republican party, the democratic party refused in any way to permit a transformation of society that would make such horrible outbreaks impossible. They insisted that the poison should be mixed, they demanded that the weapons should be prepared, they helped in the maddening of the brain, but when the natural result followed they hastened to disclaim responsibility.

As a natural result from the conditions fostered and the philosophy preached by these arch-conspirators, as a certain conclusion

from the premises to which they gave assent, there arose the third party to the indictment—the doctrinal or philosophical anarchist. He it was who was indorsed by the leaders of bourgeois respectability, who thereby gave every reason to believe that they were willing to accept the full logic of the premises laid down by their previous actions.

Finally we have the men whose names appear upon the indictment as it is drawn by the present ruling class. At the most these individuals are but the last and logical expression of the mighty chain of events and social relations that have been pointed out as inhering in capitalism. But just because they are in the grasp of this wider and mightier force their power for evil reaches far beyond that of any isolated individual.

The only body of men, the only portion of present society against whom this indictment positively cannot read, the only individuals whose hands are wholly clean of the blood of the chief magistrate, the only body that has consistently and continuously fought each and every one of these conspirators, that has denounced them publicly and privately, on its platform and through its press with all the power that it can wield, is the body of men that march beneath the banner and hold the name of socialism. They alone have always dared to denounce murder, whether it be of a ruler or of ruled, whether it be on the throne or in the workshop, whether by slow starvation or the bullet of the assassin, and they alone can go into the court of equity of the future with clean hands and rest assured of what the verdict will be.

Co-operative Movement in Belgium

IN these last years the co-operative movement has notably increased in Belgium. It has produced remarkable results in the organization of the working class, and especially in the diffusion of socialist propaganda among the masses of the people. We may say without boasting that foreign socialists and radicals who visit Belgium are struck with admiration at the work accomplished. Their astonishment goes on increasing as they visit our co-operative institutions of Brussels, Ghent, Jolimont, Anvers and other cities.

Then they ask questions.

"How did you do it?"

"What were your first steps?"

"How do you explain the success of Belgian co-operation?"

"By what system did you succeed in propagating co-operation in this way?"

"How do these strong societies work and how are they managed?"

"Then, again, do you succeed so completely in the little country places?"

Such are the principal questions that our foreign comrades often ask us.

We have thought it worth while to describe rapidly the mechanism and the working of the different kinds of co-operative societies existing in Belgium, and by some typical examples to show the results obtained.

That is what we shall do in the following pages:

I.

It is important that the reader dismiss the notion of Belgium being a country better adapted than any other to the establishment of co-operative societies. The success of these depends neither upon the physical surroundings, nor the geographical situation, nor the special temperament of the Belgian people.

Many people have said to us: "What is done so admirably with you could not succeed with us, because our temperament is not adapted to it."

That is a fundamental error.

The success of co-operation is not a matter of temperament, of sentiment or of environment. It is due above all to the system adopted, by its character, to its really popular organization, accessible to all, especially to the poorest.

And, moreover, it is well to remember that before succeeding

so completely the co-operative movement underwent numerous and repeated checks in Belgium.

Let us then trace rapidly the history of the co-operative movement of our country.

At the time of the great famine of 1845-1847, due to the poor wheat crops and the potato blight, the government, led by M. Charles Rogier, minister of the interior, recommended everywhere the formation of savings societies for the purchase of winter provisions, on the model of what was being done in Berlin and other cities of Germany.

Moreover, certain municipal or charitable administrations established depots for the sale of provisions, which they let go at cost or even at a loss.

The societies for the purchase of winter provisions, which may be regarded as intermittent co-operatives, survived some years, but without any great development.

Then came the events of 1848 in France.

After February 24, hundreds of societies for production were founded at Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, etc.

The French workingmen thought that by this means they would overcome the employing class and would end by suppressing it.

In the course of the year 1848 and the beginning of 1849 workmen of Brussels, Ghent and Liege began to start their own societies for production as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, printers, cigarmakers, etc.

These societies, founded on the same plans as the French associations, met with little success. They died one after the other in the course of a year or two. The difficulty was not in producing good clothing, footwear, furniture, cigars, etc., but in selling them. A single one of the societies founded in 1849 still survives at Brussels, namely, the "Alliance Typographique." But this workmen's association has not, properly speaking, a co-operative character. It is a society which has taken the legal form of a corporation.

So the attempt of 1848 failed.

Not till 1865 did they begin again to speak of co-operative societies. The French movement rose from its ashes at this time. Moreover, the story of the famous pioneers of Rochdale was popularized by the voice of the press.

It was the Free-Masons of the "Loge des Amis Philanthropes" of Brussels who took the initiative of founding a popular co-operative restaurant.

At Liege, a manufacturer did likewise.

Co-operation at this epoch took on a purely philanthropic, bourgeois character.

But with the establishment of the International Workingmen's

Association and the propaganda carried on by its members the true principles of co-operation began to be diffused among the working masses.

Little by little, thanks to this propaganda, we see co-operations of consumption gradually springing up everywhere.

The type adopted was the depot for groceries, colonial goods and flour. These were established in the large towns, Brussels, Liege, Ghent, Anvers, Charleroi, Verviers, etc., but especially in our large industrial villages around Charleroi, Liege and Centre-Hainaut.

The number of these societies in 1871 was considerable enough to suggest the idea of forming a federation for the wholesale purchase of merchandise.

But with the dissolution of the International the working class movement gradually disintegrated, and with it, the co-operative movement also.

The revival of the Belgian co-operative movement dates from the year 1880. It is due to three converging streams.

First, to the socialist propaganda and to the example given by the famous co-operative "Vooruit" of Ghent.

Next, to the establishment of co-operative societies of consumption among the employes and laborers of the state.

Finally, to the foundation of co-operative pharmacies, the initiative of which may be traced to the Free Federation of Mutual Benefit Societies of Brussels.

Now see the results.

From 1873—date of the law on co-operative societies—up to 1885, that is twelve years, there were established but 92 co-operative societies in Belgium.

From 1885 to the end of 1894—nine years—there were established 417, or more than 45 a year.

Since this period began we see a new current produced by the birth of the agricultural co-operative movement, under the form of societies for the purchase and sale of fertilizers, seeds, goods of all kinds, co-operative dairies, savings and loan societies, etc.

Strange to say, it is the Catholic party, the former opponent of the co-operative societies and defender of the interests of small traders, which now puts itself at the head of the co-operative movement among the farmers.

What is the cause of this sudden change?

The first cause is the adoption, April 18, 1893, of the new article of the constitution which makes voters of all the Belgian male citizens. The result of this is that the country people, hitherto kept in fanaticism and subjection by the clergy, will now have to take part in the electoral contests, and by that very fact will be interested in the movement of the new ideas.

In the second place, the first elections under the new system of

voting were a revelation to the conservative parties. They were astounded to see the socialists obtain at once 350,000 votes and send to the parliament 29 deputies out of 152.

The clericals considered that our success among the masses was due above all to our co-operative organization, or at least that it is by the aid of this organization that we have found resources and independent men for propagating our ideas. Thereupon they began to organize co-operative societies in the country, to marshal the peasants and to prevent them from coming to swell the socialist army.

Let us observe the results obtained. We have just seen that from 1886 to 1894 there were founded, on an average, 45 co-operative societies a year.

Let us see how it has been since the co-operative movement has been propagated among the farming population.

In 1895 were founded 94 co-operative societies.

In 1896 were founded 179 co-operative societies.

In 1897 were founded 312 co-operative societies.

In 1898 were founded 268 co-operative societies.

In 1899 were founded 190 co-operative societies.

In 1900 were founded 251 co-operative societies.

For the last three years, 1898-1900, the new co-operative societies founded may be classified as follows:

Savings and loan societies.....	116
Creameries	210
Consumption	124
Purchase and sale.....	67
Breweries and distilleries.....	65
Production	48
Insurance	31
Miscellaneous	45

On the first of January, 1901, there were in Belgium more than 1800 co-operative societies of all classes. Unfortunately, there are no complete statistics for these societies, but we may estimate the number of their members at 200,000, which, on a basis of five persons to the family, would represent a total of a million consumers, or more than a seventh of the population of our country.

As is seen, the success of Belgian co-operation dates back only a few years. Before success was reached two great attempts were unfruitful and resulted in nothing.

Today this movement is indestructible. It has roots too deep for any crisis to overturn them. It makes an integral part of our national life; it has entered into our customs, it has conquered the freedom of the city, and nothing henceforth can arrest its forward

march. The co-operative idea is popular. Its progress has been continuous and our profound conviction is that the future reserved for it is brilliant, and that co-operation has a great part to play in the social transformations which are impending.

II.

Having thus traced in outline the history of the co-operative movement of Belgium, let us now see to what causes its success should be attributed.

The essential characteristic of Belgian co-operation is that it is popular; in other words, it appeals to all, even the poorest laborers.

There are, as is well known, two systems of co-operation. The "Rochdale" system, so-called, is the most general and seems to us the best from all points of view.

It consists in selling with a profit—that is to say, at the price of ordinary trade; then in distributing the profit thus realized at the end of the half-year or year.

The other system consists in selling at what may be called cost price, increased by 2 or 3 per cent in a way to cover the general expenses and the interest on the capital. This system is employed in England in the co-operation of the army and navy. It is not at all practicable in Belgium, as we know.

Our preference is for the Rochdale system, for it permits the co-operators to make savings every day without being aware of it, and to draw a rebate at the end of the half-year or year, which is much more perceptible to them than it would be to spend a few centimes less each day.

The co-operative store, moreover, ought to be open to all. It ought to sell to the public, even outside its membership, if only for the sake of advertising itself in this way.

The method generally taken to found co-operatives is this:

In the cities a start is made with the establishment of a bakery. In the country districts and villages a grocery has been preferred. That is because in the country, even up to the present time, each family has made its own bread. In the country co-operatives, therefore, the sale of flour has been very important. In the cities, or the contrary, the resident buys his bread of the baker. Now, as bread in our own country forms, along with potatoes, the basis of the popular diet, the industry of baking is well chosen to begin with.

Certain workingmen join then to start a co-operative bakery. But for that money is needed. To this end they begin by depositing each 5 or 10 cents a week. At the end of a few months, when they have in this way accumulated a hundred dollars or so, they decide to rent a place, preferably a cellar containing a bake oven or a house on the rear of a lot, at a moderate rental.

It is in this way that the "Vooruit" of Ghent and the "Maison du Peuple" of Brussels had their beginning, with a few hundred francs and in a cellar. Today, less than twenty years after, these two co-operatives each possess real estate to the amount of more than \$300,000.

Each member subscribed for a share of 10 francs (\$1.93). But at present one may be admitted as a co-operator by paying only 8 or 10 cents, the price of the member's pass-book, containing the regulations and blank pages to receive the record of the goods bought.

The amount of the share is paid later by deductions of 2 or 3 francs from the rebate which returns to the member at each distribution.

Formerly, in the co-operatives not having a socialistic character, one was obliged to subscribe a share of 50 or 100 francs and pay an entrance fee, which went on increasing in proportion as the society became richer. That is the bourgeois system on a capitalistic basis. This system was bad, because it put an obstacle in the way of recruiting new members. These societies were guided by an egotistic sentiment which was also delusive.

The essential thing for these societies was the accumulation of a certain amount of capital. The socialist co-operatives, for their part, considered rightly that the essential thing was not to increase the society's *capital*, but the *amount of sales*, which is, be it remembered, that which determines the profits.

Today, in our socialist co-operatives—and this example is now followed by all—one becomes, at Brussels, for instance, a member of the Maison du Peuple co-operative for the average payment of 8 cents. One may buy in its salesrooms, have its bread delivered at home, and have a right to the consequent profits, being co-proprietor in the ratio of 1 to 18,000 of a social property of more than \$200,000, and all that by expending only 8 cents!

This system is excellent in that the dominant factor, as we have just said, even to the mere question of profits, is not the capital contributed by the members, but their purchases.

Socialist co-operation in Belgium is thus open freely to all. One is not obliged to contribute capital before enjoying the advantages of the society. Moreover, the workingmen are not asked to pledge themselves to the payment of too large a sum; the shares are \$1.93 each, payable in two or three years, by the retention of 2 or 3 francs at each distribution of rebates.

In the propaganda we have carried on in favor of co-operation for the last twenty years we have always said that co-operation ought to be considered, not as an *end*, but as a *means*.

We said also that the co-operative society might serve as the foundation of the labor movement and the socialist movement.

In 1888, in a propaganda pamphlet, we wrote as follows on the subject of the character of co-operation and its place in the labor movement:

"Co-operative societies for us socialists are a *means*, not an *end*.

"What we aim at is the complete emancipation of the workers, the suppression of the wage system, of individual proprietorship.

"To suppress poverty, to act so that all may have a peaceful and happy life, it is indispensable to do away with the causes of the present suffering.

"Now, the principal cause of the poverty of some and the enrichment of others is that the latter possess, individually or collectively, the land, the instruments of labor, the workshops, the tools, etc.

"They take advantage of their privileged situation to exploit the others who possess nothing. They make them labor for their profit; they give them *two* when they have produced *four*.

"The laborer who produces, for example, the equivalent of ten loaves of bread a day, and who receives for his work only five loaves, is robbed. The existing capital and property are the fruits of thefts made from the wage-workers—from those who produced *four* and received but *two*.

"The end to reach, that everyone may be made happy, is to act so that the wealth and the instruments of labor, now possessed by a few, shall be possessed by all.

"The question now is to ascertain whether, by the development of the co-operative societies, we may succeed in giving to the laborer *the entire product of his labor*, social burdens being discharged.

"Here we do not hesitate a moment, and we say, *No!*

"Why should the capitalists dispossess themselves, even with moderate compensation, of an industry which enables them to enrich themselves without labor?

"It would be pure folly to believe it.

"We may then conclude that co-operation is not an end, the end of arriving at the suppression of wage labor, and consequently of poverty.

"Co-operation, then, is only a means, but a powerful means.

"In the first place, co-operation is an excellent means for uniting and organizing the workers. Co-operative societies are, then, a good means for the economic education of the working class. They permit the laborers to put themselves in the current of commercial and industrial affairs, to follow the fluctuations of the market, to know the difficulties to be solved, etc.

"We are speaking here, be it understood, only of moral results. The working class is destined one day to take the place of the bourgeoisie in government and industry. Now, a class does not replace another class until it is capable of so doing. Consequently, to or-

ganize the workingmen, to educate them in economics, commerce and industry—is not that a powerful means; is it not a useful and necessary work?"

"Moreover, the co-operative societies, by the profits which they realize, procure resources which are often of considerable amount and which may serve for propagating socialist ideas, for creating libraries, for organizing meetings, for sustaining and extending the newspapers which defend the cause of the toilers."

"Is all that nothing?"

That is what we wrote more than twelve years ago regarding the character of the socialist co-operative movement.

As to the part that the co-operative society is destined to play in the labor movement in general we wrote at the same period:

"Up to now the co-operative societies have played a secondary part in the labor movement.

"That is an unfortunate mistake.

"For us, the co-operative societies ought to be the foundation of the labor movement, of the organization of the working class.

"Whenever in any place a group of workers has put itself in the current which moves toward the organization of the working class, what has been done is to start a workingmen's league, a study circle or a trade union.

"These groups in most cases are short-lived. No serious tie holds together the various elements which compose them. Under these conditions discouragement comes quickly.

"In the case of labor unions, there is another obstacle. The employers, the manufacturers, are displeased at seeing their laborers organize. They think that the laborers can not unite without moving for a strike. So they begin making war on the leaders, on the most intelligent, on those who by their capacity and energy are suited to render services to the union and to make it prosper.

"Thus these laborers are often victims; they lose their places in the workshop and are forced to leave the city or town where they live. The consequence is the ruin of the labor league or of the union.

"If, on the contrary, the workingmen begin by establishing a co-operative society, a bakery or grocery preferably, they could give employment to those of their members who were most capable of rendering them service and propagating their ideas.

"From this co-operative may grow, without trouble and without undue sacrifice on the part of its members, a union, a relief fund in case of sickness or lack of employment, and a society for propaganda and study.

"If the co-operative is well organized and managed, it may soon furnish its members and the public with bread, butter, meat, vegetables, groceries, coal, clothing, etc.

"Let us suppose that each member's average purchases are 15 francs a week; that makes a yearly expenditure of 780 francs (\$150.54). At the very lowest, the profit realized will be at least 10 per cent—that is, \$15.00 per year per member. With this profit, which we fix at the minimum, the workingmen, without spending a cent more than usual, but rather less, may insure himself against sickness and loss of work; he can pay his assessment to his defense fund and to the workingmen's league and still have a sum of eight or ten dollars left.

"As will be seen, nothing is easier. Let us suppose, for example, that the locality is where the dominant trade is the tobacco industry. The workingmen unite and start a co-operative bakery.

"This, properly managed, must necessarily prosper and give profits. As these accumulate, one branch after another of co-operation is added to the bakery, so that the workingmen may procure at the co-operative everything they have need of.

"With a part of their profits the workers assess themselves for to establish a trade union. The latter, in its turn, establishes a fund for the relief of those out of work, and does more—it saves part of its funds to organize a factory in which the laborers out of work will find occupation.

"This is but a rapid sketch of what can be done in the way of insurance against sickness to establish a trade union. The latter, in its turn, establishes a fund for the relief of those out of work, and does more—it saves part of its funds to organize a factory in which the laborers out of work will find occupation.

"Through co-operation it is possible to keep together, by the practical interests of everyday life, men who otherwise have not the necessary perseverance to make a success either of a trade union, a society for mutual insurance against sickness or loss of work, or a workingmen's league or study circle.

"More than this, we thus keep with us the wives of the workingmen, an element that should not be neglected and which today finds its place in the co-operative alone."

The co-operative society is, then, an excellent means of organization of the working class. It renders constant and immediate service to all its members. It provides employment for the most capable men of the working class, especially those who are victims of their activity in propaganda, and whom the manufacturers turn out on the street.

Co-operation at once procures resources by the profits which it realizes, and it weakens in proportion the class of middle-men, which is far from being socialist, but is rather in the camp of our opponents.

Finally, thanks to co-operation, we have a means for effective

penetration into the districts most refractory to our ideas. Our comrades of the "Vooruit" of Ghent have experienced this in the last few years. Until lately it was practically impossible for them to establish a single group of socialist workingmen in the little towns of Flanders, subjected as they had been to the Catholic party for centuries.

In these districts there was no way of finding a hall for meetings. The tavern-keepers who dared give the use of their taverns for holding meetings were soon boycotted and ruined, and nothing remained for them but to leave the town or the village where they were born.

Thus our friends had no other course than to visit these fanatical towns at the time the people were dismissed from mass and to speak in the open air. But after these adventures took a tragic turn, and the peasants, stirred up by the clergy and the big-bugs of the neighborhood, prevented our orators from speaking by throwing stones or even assaulting them with clubs.

Today there is scarcely a trace of this state of things. Our friends begin by leasing or buying a house. They open a tavern and make of it a socialist meeting-place. In the same building they get together a stock of goods, and soon open a co-operative store.

The working people of the neighborhood come to buy at the store because they find it to their advantage. They are also present at the meetings, they read our newspapers and pamphlets, and soon they find themselves converted to our ideas.

Moreover, the co-operative store and the tavern bring in enough money to pay a man who is thus free to use his leisure to defend the party, without fear of anyone, since he finds himself in an independent situation.

It is through co-operation that our friends of Ghent go on, little by little, conquering Flanders to socialism. They have already established groups at Wetteren, Tremonde, Zeele, Thielt, Courtrai, Ypres, Roulers, etc., etc. If they had more resources and more devoted and intelligent men at their disposal, every principal place in the Flemish cantons would in a few years have its socialist co-operative and, along with it, its mutual insurance society, its union, its political league, its library, etc.

Soon, too, thanks to the development of co-operatives of consumption in the cities and industrial towns, business relations can be established between these co-operatives and the agricultural unions, or the societies of consumption can themselves organize societies of farmers, whom they will thus make independent by assuring them an easy outlet for their products.

It will be seen that this form of association, being very elastic, can be utilized for many purposes. It is a powerful weapon in the

hands of the impoverished working class, because it procures resources constantly renewed without demanding any sacrifice from its members; on the contrary, it affords them the means of living more economically than if they continued to buy their goods from merchants.

Louis Bertrand,

Socialist Deputy from Brussels.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(To be continued.)

A Catholic View of Socialism



THE chief business of life, in the eyes of a Catholic, is the saving of his immortal soul. Man's life on earth lasts but a few short years; his life beyond the grave is endless. The quality of this after-life will depend, in the case of each individual, on the manner in which he has spent his earthly life, and on the relation in which he stands to his God at the moment of death. If he dies at peace with his Maker he will be admitted sooner or later to a condition of unending happiness; if he dies at enmity with God he will be doomed to eternal misery. Hence, the primary consideration for every reasonable man is the kind of existence that he shall enjoy beyond the grave. His existence on earth is of real importance only because it is the period within which he determines whether he shall be happy or miserable in the life to come. Whenever a man's earthly happiness or welfare comes in conflict with his eternal interests he will decide in favor of the latter. The true significance of life on earth lies in its relation to the life to come.

Such is the Catholic view of the relative importance of present and future existence. This is not the place to set forth the proofs of this position. Suffice it to say, that this is the view of life taught by the Founder of Christianity on every page of His Gospel. "My Kingdom is not of this world"; "be not solicitous as to what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink"; "seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Justice": these are but a few of His declarations taken at random. The Gospels are crowded with others of similar import. The Sermon on the Mount, which has so often been extolled as a program of brotherhood and social justice, abounds with statements which show that Christ regarded earthly happiness or misery as of comparatively little moment in themselves. The one important thing in His mind, the "one thing necessary," was that each man should fit himself for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Looked at in this way, life on earth becomes of tremendous importance. It determines for each human being the condition of his existence in eternity. The man who wishes to be happy in the life to come must obey God's laws here below. Foremost among these are the laws of charity and of justice. The law of charity commands men to treat one another as they would like to be treated themselves. If this law were universally observed the socialist movement would not be in existence. The occasion for it would be wanting. The law of justice requires that every man should be allowed to enjoy that which is his. It forbids,

therefore, all robbery, cheating, and exploitation. It requires that the products of the earth be so distributed that every human being will have at least sufficient to live decently, as a human being should live, "in reasonable and frugal comfort," to use the words of Pope Leo. Whenever any human being has less than this reasonable minimum, he is the victim either of his own criminal negligence, or of injustice, individual or social. Of this law, as of the law of charity, I feel safe in asserting that if it were universally carried out in practice the world would never have heard of socialism. For socialism is primarily a protest against social injustice, and derives its chief strength from the magnitude of this injustice in modern economic life.

The true Catholic, therefore, is impelled by the very strongest motives to observe the law of justice in dealing with his fellows. He must do so under pain of forfeiting happiness in the life eternal. For the average man this personal motive is far more effective than any considerations founded on the brotherhood of man. What, then, is the Catholic's attitude toward socialism, which is professedly a system by which social justice is to be realized?

The Catholic opposes, and must oppose, socialism in so far as it attacks religion. It cannot be denied that a great part of the literature of socialism, and a majority, perhaps, of the socialist leaders are unfriendly to the Christian view of life. Socialist leaders of prominence in every country regard life on earth as the be-all and the end-all of existence, and look forward to a heaven on earth under the socialist regime. They scoff at the view of life which makes this earth a place of probation and exile. They have no patience with men who turn their eyes longingly to the world beyond for a redress of the countless wrongs suffered on earth. They believe, and rightly, that if men can be brought to regard this life as the sum of human existence their impatience with social wrong will be quickened, and their faith in the socialist program increased. For millions upon millions of men the socialistic heaven would then be the only thing worth living for and hoping for. Perhaps many of the socialist leaders are not hostile, but merely indifferent to religion, but the fact remains that a vast number of them conduct their propaganda in such a way as to identify socialism with irreligion. What wonder is it that Catholics should look with distrust upon a movement whose most prominent leaders are materialists in philosophy and atheists in religion? What wonder is it that they should refuse to hasten the day when these men would be supreme both in economic and political affairs? The Catholic church could expect but scant courtesy at the hands of such men.

With socialism as an economic program, the Catholic, as such, has no quarrel. He judges it solely by the tests of feasibility, desirability, and justice. The two central principles of economic

socialism are the collective ownership and management of the instruments of production, and the distribution of products by the collectivity. The first of these principles is not in itself wrong. It may be impracticable, but that is a question that can be definitely solved only by experience. Catholics believe in the institution of private property, but private property is a means not an end in itself. Its purpose is to secure to men the enjoyment of a certain amount, not of production goods, but of consumption goods. Private property of some kind is necessary in order that men may be guaranteed the necessities and comforts of life. Now, if the second principle of socialism, the collective distribution of products is applied in such a way as to provide men with the necessities and comforts of life according to some principle of justice, then the real end of private property is obtained, and no property rights are violated. Most of the opposition of fair minded men to economic socialism arises from a lack of faith in the various socialistic plans of distribution that have thus far been proposed.

To sum up: Catholics hold that the chief aim of life is, not to bring about a regime of economic justice, but to gain eternal happiness in the life that comes after death. They believe that in order to obtain that happiness men must, among other things, deal justly with their fellows here on earth. They oppose the present socialist movement in so far as its writers insist upon making it irreligious, and ask for proofs of its claims in so far as it is economic.

“*Catholicus.*”

Trade Unionism and Socialism in Italy



THE movement for the organization of the working classes in Italy began fifteen or twenty years ago under a purely economic (trade-unionist) form. For this reason it remained powerless, and very little of it was left at the time of the formation of the Italian Socialist party. This party, called, by a kind of reactionary relapse into trade-unionism, "Labor party," devoted itself from the beginning to political and electoral work. It must be admitted, however, that this political task was forced on the party by the necessity of eliminating from the policy of the Italian government the superannuated and almost feudal spirit of reaction that dominated it and nipped in the bud every organization, even of the economic order. In fact, during the reactionary storms that struck the political organizations of the socialists and republicans, neither the leagues of resistance pure and simple nor the labor exchanges escaped. They shared the common fate of all proletarian organizations.

The following reasons, then, prevented the socialist party from choosing the economic organizations as a basis. The necessity of assuring to the party a clear and unmistakable political character for the purpose of playing an efficient role in Italian politics; and the expediency of removing all pretexts for reactionary administrations to molest and dissolve the economic organizations. But the more the political organization of the socialists differentiated itself from that of other parties, and the more the formation of a representative body of the parties championing the rights of the people (socialists, republicans and radicals), counterbalanced the efforts of the reaction and succeeded in establishing a regime of comparative liberty of association, of discussion, of writing and of striking, the more the socialist party returned to its real task of pushing the economic organization of the workingmen.

At the national convention of Rome in September, 1900, the socialist party formulated the resolutions of a former convention more precisely and adopted the following order of the day:

"Whereas, The convention reaffirms the resolution of the convention of Bologna which makes it *obligatory for all comrades, on penalty of expulsion from the party, to become members of their respective economic organizations of defense;*

"Whereas, The convention holds that the greatest obstacle to the application of this resolution is found in the practical difficulties that obstruct the organization of trade unions, especially in small

towns where these unions cannot in the beginning develop sufficient power of resistance and solidarity to keep alive;

"Whereas, A better harmony of action between the party, the parliamentary group and the economic organization is indispensable;

"Resolved:

"1. That one of the secretaries of the party be instructed to hold himself at the disposal of and to get into direct touch with the federal committees of the labor exchanges (*Camere del lavoro*), the co-operatives and the mutual benefit societies, for the purpose of harmonizing the activity of the economic organizations of southern Italy with that of the socialist party and of the parliamentary group;

"2. That in places where no trade unions are in existence or where the organization of such unions is impossible, the socialist locals (political organizations) shall organize mixed labor unions and keep the members of these unions in touch with the trade unions of the neighboring places;

"3. That every political group shall provide for the instruction of the workingmen in the means of organizing and managing leagues, co-operatives, etc., and in the means of applying the existing labor laws, assisted by the advice and the publications issued by the secretary in charge of this department;

"4. That the socialists in the trade organizations shall urge the necessity of forming national federations that must extend their activity also to the aforesaid localities and inspire them with the conviction *that the political organization and fight must supplement the economic*;

"5. That the immediate economic activity of the socialist party shall be directed to the end of organizing the agricultural population and the female proletariat, and of demanding laws protecting the latter;

"6. That the parliamentary group shall collect the demands of the labor organizations, voice them in parliament and file bills providing for labor legislation, and in this way prove by practical demonstration to the working class that the conquest of the political power is indispensable for the complete attainment of their rights."

I have made a point of reproducing these resolutions in full, because they were put into practice within a very short space of time, and with results that far surpassed any expectation entertained at the time of their adoption.

I shall illustrate this immediately.

It is no exaggeration to state that today there is no economic organization in Italy independent of socialist activity, and that whatever economic organization exists is due to the propaganda

and efforts of the socialists. They have not alone organized the rural population, but also drawn into their propaganda for organization the republicans, who had been preoccupied with the political form, the monarchy, instead of the economic substance, and who, in their capacity of representatives of the city artisans and small proprietors, had kept aloof from all economic activity among the farming population. But in view of the socialist propaganda they were forced on penalty of political death to accept, willingly or unwillingly, their new task and to push the work of organization together with the socialists.

Pending the creation of a socialist labor secretariat in Milan, in conformity with the resolution of the convention of Rome, the executive board of the socialist party continues the work of economic organization through one of its members and sends socialist deputies to such places where the need is most pressing. But in those districts that have been prepared for progress by long years of socialist propaganda, organizations and strikes in their wake make their appearance spontaneously and independently of the executive whose activity is insufficient on account of the magnitude of the movement. And the men at the head of such organizations are always socialists, just because they fully understand the interests of the workingmen and the means of their defense, thanks to their socialist training. It must also be acknowledged that these men are selected by their comrades for the posts of secretary or delegate and followed enthusiastically, because they are the most alert and intelligent of their number.

Thus the executive committees of the strongest and oldest unions are composed of a majority of socialist workingmen who, of course, also belong to the political organization. Such are the Typographical union with 5,500 members; the union of Railway Firemen and of Railway Employees, which owns a strong co-operative of consumption in Turin under the management of the socialist deputy Nofri; the union of Metal Workers, the union of Glassworkers, and many others.

The labor exchanges (*CAMERE DEL LAVORO*) are likewise almost exclusively in the hands of socialists. These labor exchanges, existing in many central places, have the task of centralizing the trade unions of the vicinity, of serving as mediators in conflicts between capital and labor, of arranging for arbitration, of procuring work for the unemployed, etc. They are simply neutral representatives of labor on a purely economic field. But, as I have said before, they are of necessity animated by the socialist spirit which makes common cause with the class interest. The reactionary governments, therefore, always dissolved them until about two years ago. Today, forty-three of them are again exercising their functions.

The constantly increasing labor press is also edited by socialists.

Marvelous has been the flourishing state of the trade unions and the well nigh universally victorious strike movement it called forth during the last six months.

Our working population has felt for many years the pressure of low wages that were maintained always at the same point by the despotism of the employers, while the price of the necessities of life had been advanced by revenue taxes for the purpose of protecting the profits and sales of the proprietors. Thus the average wage of a farm laborer remained 1 *franc* (20 cents) per day, while grain cost as much as 27 francs (\$5.40) per hundred weight on account of the import duty of 7.50 francs (\$1.50) per hundred weight.

But how organize leagues of resistance, when the government dissolved them and persecuted their members? And how manage strikes when the soldiers took the places of the strikers at harvest time?

Hardly had the pressure of the extreme left brought a liberal ministry into power that guaranteed the liberty of association, discussion, strikes and its neutrality during strikes*, than the laborers naturally tried to increase their meager wages by a few cents and to reduce their hours of labor a little. Especially among the farm laborers who had hitherto been held in almost feudal servitude by the proprietor and the priest, the organization movement has borne splendid fruit.

The most powerful leagues of amelioration (*Leghe di miglioramento*) are the following: Federation of the province of Mantua, 271 leagues and 40,231 members; federation of Reggio Emilia, 45 leagues and 7,500 members; federation of Ferrara, 60 male and 33 female leagues with 15,500 members; league of Lomellina, 3,000 members; league of Polesine, 8,000 members; leagues of the Basso Veronese, 1,377 members; league of Finale Emilia, 7,000 members; league of share farmers of Forle and Ravenna, 6,000 members.

At the same time, the bricklayers, the bakers, the female coral workers, the traveling agents, the corset workers, the shoemakers,

* In reality this neutrality was broken by a grievous accident. In Berra, near Ferrara, a nervous lieutenant and sworn enemy of the laborers, gave the order to fire on a crowd of farm laborers who advanced toward him, waving their white handkerchiefs in sign of peace and holding their hats in their hands, intending to cross a bridge and join their comrades in order to request them to stop work pending arbitration of their demands by the prefect.

The shooting was done without necessity, without the preliminary announcement prescribed by law, and in violation of the military rules providing a use of the bayonet before resorting to shooting. Of course, the military authorities acquitted the lieutenant and the courts declare that they are incompetent. Worst of all, the government justified the action of the lieutenant who thus protected "the right of private property and the liberty of labor."

The extreme left, who by their votes supported the ministry against the reaction, are determined in case of a repetition of the Berra incident or the like to refuse their support to a government that cannot be liberal in deeds because it is too liberal with words.

the longshoremen of Genoa, the employes of the arsenal in Venice, and others, organized.

It is impossible to give accurate statistics on this subject at this hour, as the movement is in full growth. Neither can complete statistics of strikes and their results be given. However, a few figures may follow here:

In several places, and especially in Milan, the bricklayers have struck and obtained an increase from 3 to 7 centimes (0.6 to 1.4 cents) per hour and the ten hour day, which brings their average wage from 1.44 francs to 2 francs (29 cents to 40 cents). The bakers in several localities have obtained the abolition of night work and an increase of 60 centimes (12 cents) per day. The farm hands have gained an increase of 15 per cent on their wages, making a gain of 3,500,000 of francs (\$700,000), which the farm hands in the province of Mantua have won in a single year.

And Minister Giolitti announced in the chamber that from January to the middle of June there had been in Italy 511 strikes in which 600,000 workingmen had taken part, winning an increase of 48,000,000 francs (\$9,600,000) for one million workers. Now all this is due to socialist propaganda and we have only just begun.

We see that economic and political activity are closely allied, supplementing each other by mutual reciprocity. Socialist propaganda re-animates the sleeping energies of the laborers and combines them for amelioration of the material condition of the working class. Once this spirit of association is awake, the conquest of material advantages enables the workingmen to educate themselves for the political struggle and to obtain step by step the control of the municipalities and of the election districts. As the results of these combined activities are obvious, the reactionary conservatives in the chamber have taken notice of them. Out of date as they are with their medieval conception of social life, and seeing the red spectre of socialism behind the economic movement of the leagues and the strikes, they raised the danger cry.

But it was an easy matter for the socialist deputies to show them that questions of economics are incomprehensible when detached from political questions. Economic organization and political activity go hand in hand. Effective political activity is impossible without the assistance of a solidly organized proletariat which has become class conscious through this very organization. Again, a powerful proletarian organization is equally inconceivable, unless it has political rights and unless the spirit of political conquest gives it a soul and impulse.

Well I understand that an American reader—in his country where capitalist development is at its height—could seriously question the importance of the results which in Italy have so clearly demonstrated the correctness of the tactics adopted by us. But

Italy is not a land of such highly developed capitalism as America. Therefore these results can neither be appreciated nor applied beyond the Alps.

Well, then, if the scope and the subject of this article did not limit my task, I could easily show by figures that Italy is for some years under way on the road of capitalism. Suffice it to indicate the most characteristic symptoms:

- a. Increased consumption of coal.
- b. Increase of machinery in industry and agriculture.
- c. Sudden increase of hydro-electric plants.
- d. Rapid development of export trade in manufactured goods.
- e. Continual increase of products for railroad service.
- f. Continual increase of industrial corporations.
- g. Rapid transformation of the methods of agriculture by the introduction of industrial methods.

This development of a capitalist bourgeoisie well explains the fight against the feudal and reactionary attitude of that same bourgeoisie, and the steadily increasing power of the proletariat under the leadership of the socialist party. The latter has not only won an increase of 48,000,000 francs (\$9,600,000) for one million of the poorest laborers, but also bestowed on them the much greater boons of civic dignity and personal liberty. This assures a rapid and uninterrupted growth to the proletarian movement of Italy.

Alessandro Schiavi.

(Translated by E. Untermann).

The Yellow Peril

[Two years ago a French traveler passed through Chicago and was interviewed by the press of that city. His statements created the greatest interest and were the subjects of editorials for several days. He pointed out the coming supremacy of America in the international market, owing to the trust organization, and greater exploitation of laborers than elsewhere, and called attention to the growing importance of the Orient as the next field of American trade expansion. But none of the papers which printed and commented on this far-seeing ability (which subsequent events has justified) mentioned the fact that he was a socialist and had simply applied the philosophy of socialism to conditions as they then existed. The French traveler was the author of the following article, and he was at that time traveling on a fellowship offered by a wealthy Frenchman to the five men who made the best showing in Economics and Sociology. Of the five scholarships three were captured by socialists, and Comrade Weulersse decided to make a trip around the world and study social conditions. He has returned to Paris but a short time ago, and in response to our request for an article on the situation in the Far East sends us the following, which has also appeared in the "Depeche," a Toulouse daily.—Ed.]



THE yellow danger is only a feeble counterpart of the capitalist anarchy that thrives in the west. It is capitalism that has forced open the doors of China. It is capitalism that today undertakes its conquest. New markets are continually necessary for the western overproduction. China is an immense market upon which the greedy international competition throws itself with doubled frenzy.

The capitalist produces only for sale; he seeks only his immediate advantage. The advantage of his customer, the interests of his countrymen, the danger he may be preparing for his own heirs, are minor considerations for him. In the blind commercial struggle, profits, profits must be immediately realized, and on penalty of death the sentimental ideas must be stifled, the distant danger scoffed at. India had opium for sale. The Chinese needed it. It had to be taken in exchange for tea. If by so doing the degeneration of a quarter of the human race was accelerated, so much the worse for the Chinese.

The armed peace of the West did not furnish enough food for for the monstrous appetite of the rifle and cannon factories. Let us sell some to the Chinese! If it is necessary for this purpose to corrupt the mandarins and to waste in useless expenditures the resources of a country which only a wise economy can regenerate—so much the worse for the Chinese. The main thing is that there is work in the factories of America and Europe, and above all, that the stock and share holders realize fat dividends. And if the Chinese should take it into their heads to turn these weapons against the West, against civilization—so much the worse for civilization. Last June a certain great European firm in China engaged in filibustering sent arms to the boxers. And the governments are not inferior to private men in mad and criminal neglect. That is the reason why we have a yellow danger—a military danger in China.

Today the West is engaged in transforming the entire economy of

China with the same blind and dangerous inconsistency! We shall no longer import guns into China, but we shall help the Chinese to manufacture them. And as for other industries, such as spinning, tanning, etc., shall we endeavor to create those that are best adapted to the Chinese consumer? No. If more profits can be realized by ruining the same industries in the West, it will be done. But these peaceful industries will become machines of war—and therefore we are incurring the risk of another yellow danger, an economic Chinese danger!

In order to ruin the industries of the West, a perfected system of exploitation will, if possible, be applied to the Chinese laborer. If means can be found to maintain wages at their lowest level and avoid strikes; if any socio-physiological combination can be found to increase the productivity of the Oriental laborer without raising the cost of his maintenance, the capitalists will not shrink from trying the experiment. And then the prophecy of Mr. d'Estournelles would soon be realized; the starvation of the Western laborer through the enslavement of the Eastern laborer!

Socialism is the remedy. I know very well that at present all socialist parties are unanimous in their unmitigated denunciation of all colonial policy. But I believe that they will soon come to regard colonization as one of the inevitable facts of modern times. They will then no longer confine themselves to denouncing colonial abuses and scandals; they will have to formulate and put into practice in the near future a programme of colonization, of socialist expansion.

Commercial expansion will then be, just as colonization proper, simply a public service. Let us assume for a moment that this policy was carried out and China, recognized as incapable of regenerating herself, divided into protectorates or simply into spheres of influence among the nations of the West. In that case, the time of capitalist filibustering would be past. Every trader would be practically responsible to the laws of his country, and every country to international laws, for any importation of arms into Chinese territory.

In every one of the different spheres of influence, the work of economic transformation would then be carried on systematically from the standpoint of national interests—as it is now, at least in theory, in the colonies—not from that of private or class interests. Care would then be taken not to create over there unnecessarily such industries as would compete with those of the West, but simply to produce for the local market. On the other hand, care would also be taken to establish auxiliary industries that would procure for the production and consumption of the home countries such products and raw materials as only the soil and the climate of the tropics can furnish.

And further—this will be the great novelty—if socialism had not then arisen spontaneously among the Chinese proletariat, the socialist nations of the West would naturally impart the benefits of socialism to them. They would give rise to higher wages and reduction of the hours of labor. Far from reducing them to slaves of the factory, they would bring the condition of the millions of Eastern laborers near the level of that of the Western laborers. The yellow spectre of starvation wages would then wholly disappear.

At the same time the consumptive power of the Chinese masses would be enormously increased. The new Chinese industry could for many years limit its ambition to filling the demand at home. During this period the advent of the laboring masses of the East to economic independence will have further increased their consumptive power to such a degree that the Western industry will no longer suffer from overproduction.

At present two yellow dangers are threatening us: either the closing or the opening of the Chinese door. If it is closed, then the West is in danger of being choked by its own surplus products. If it is opened, the West must fear to be choked by the overproduction of the new Orient. But when the West will be transformed after the socialist ideal, then the East must follow its example. What will then remain of the two great fears that now begin to haunt us vaguely? Then, and then alone, can we practically give China to the Chinese, without fear of an economic or armed invasion!

Against the dangers to which the great capitalist *conquistadores* expose the public health and the peace of Western society, other capitalists who are as blind in their fear as the others are in their hardihood propose a defense: the wildest protectionism. To close your doors against others and to lock yourself in, to make the impossible possible in order to hinder the economic development of the East to the utmost.

We have already shown that such a policy would run counter to the natural evolution of society and how it would endanger the nation that would follow it. But nothing will hold it up to ridicule so well as to carry it to its logical conclusion and to apply it on the largest possible scale.

It is a *yellow danger* to leave China alone and insist that nobody shall touch it. But there is also such a thing as an *American danger* for Europe. There is such a thing as a *German danger* for England and France. What is the remedy against these dangers that are much more certain and imminent than the Chinese danger. Neither England nor France would risk an economic war against Germany. And all Europe combined would take care not to break off the economic relations with the United States.

More still: *Every colony is a danger for the mother country!* We are restless about the spinneries of Shanghai, but some are being built in Haiphong; the laborer of Anam is no less dangerous than the Chinese! How is it that nobody has ever prohibited the industries in the colonies? But some one has thought of it. Mr. Meline has thought of it and so have the owners of the spinneries in Rouen; down with the young industry of Tonkin! Tomorrow the spinneries of Rouen and in the Vosges mountains will no doubt protest against the establishment of a spinnery in Havre, especially if it should be a perfected plant. For would not that be a danger also? *The machine danger!* Every increase of the productivity of human labor at any point of the globe is a danger!

This statement which has only to be carried further in order to show the absurdity it involves, contains nevertheless a grain of truth. It is true; national, colonial and international competition causes losses, failures, and sometimes disasters. It is true: the invention of a machine or of a more economic production by hand may involve a deterioration in the condition of a whole population. And so we are indeed confronted by the shocking question: can general progress take place only at the expense of individual failures, and collective prosperity be realized only through the misery of some classes?

Present society does not dare to answer that question, for its answer is "yes." But the society of tomorrow, socialism, answers "no." It may be advantageous for France that our printed cotton goods are manufactured in Haiphong; in this case some Frenchmen gain what other Frenchmen lose. But it may also be advantageous for France to buy abroad a certain article that is now manufactured in France, so as not to produce unnecessarily and pay dearly for an article that is manufactured and sold cheaper elsewhere; and in order that we may engage in industries that will enable us to produce and sell at good prices.

Besides, the industries and also the agriculture of every country must be in a continual process of transformation. An incessant distribution and redistribution of labor must be maintained between the nations and between the continents. In order that local failures may not be the too precious ransom of these beneficent revolutions, what must be done? Is it necessary and sufficient that the economy of each country be scientifically, that is nationally, organized; that the national solidarity protect all the producers of the country against the eventualities of distant economic evolutions.

In default of a socialistically inspired organization of the Chinese empire that would do away even with the possibility of a yellow danger, the organization of the western nations on socialist principles, or the international organization of socialism between

all of them, is the only reasonable remedy. It will at the same time parry the danger of a capitalist transformation of the far East and that of the capitalist expansion of America.

Socialism insures the nations against the crises of cosmopolitan progress. It insures particularly Europe against the consequences of the development or the rejuvenation of other continents.

Georges Weulersse.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

Mysticism of Our Labor Statistics



THE communication of John M. Day, in the September number of the *Review*, contains a query that should not be overlooked by any socialist, because it touches a subject which, owing to the nature of our statistics, is not satisfactorily solvable, but nevertheless affords ample opportunity of demonstrating the inexorability of capitalist exploitation.

Before coming to the main question let it be stated that in the criticism, "False Prophets vs. False Critics," it was denied that the figures used by Herman Whitaker were correct and that they were not "admitted." Nor was the "outcome" of the statistics given denied, but the conclusions drawn from it objected to. Neither was it the intention to show that the 55.08 per cent given to material "must come out of labor;" but it was clearly stated that: "The smaller per cent of this bulk of material we shall classify as useful labor expended upon the product, taking away the material substratum which is furnished by nature without the help of man."

But John M. Day asks the pertinent question: "Where does the raw material come from?" In want of better evidence than our faulty and misleading statistics it is left to us to reason out. We socialists of course proceed from our established principle that "Labor Creates All Wealth." If in the course of this paper the capitalist should be alluded to it is only with profound respect for him as that which the eyes of classical economy see in him—that is, "a machine for the conversion of surplus value into additional capital." Therefore, we must deal with him consistently as the incarnation of capital, and if it were only for the purpose of drawing the veil from off the mysticism of his doctrines and statistics.

The material substratum, or that which neither capitalist nor laborer produced, but is purely the product of nature, is not owned by the laborer, constitutes that item which, added to the profit of the capitalist engaged in manufacture and in production of raw material, is called capital in various forms. It devolves upon us to determine what constitutes the item called wages in manufacture and production of raw material, and as a natural consequence it follows that the remainder, not paid in wages, is profit, interest, and price for material substratum.

Statistics do not deal with a "particular labor case;" they can deal only with an average. The United States statistician, on the statistics of labor performed in manufacturing, assigns 55.08 per cent to raw material. Thus the machinery and other products are accounted for, and all that remains is "material." We grant for

the sake of argument that the laborer engaged in the production of raw material—mining, sawing wood, fleecing sheep, refining, tending to furnaces and the like—receives as high a percentage of the item called raw material as does the laborer engaged in manufacturing, according to the March Bulletin of the Department of Labor in 1896. This bulletin gives to the laborer in manufactures 20.18 per cent, and it is to be hoped that no objection will be raised if we grant, from the coal miner down to the most unimportant of raw material producer, the liberal percentage of 20.18 per cent. Though we do not here blame the capitalist engaged in both pursuits for pocketing 24.74 per cent multiplied by two, it is nevertheless a fact, adding the price for the material substratum.

20.18 p. c of \$55.08 of raw material (produced by laborer)	\$11.12
24.74 p. c. of \$55.08 of raw material (profited by capital..	13.62
55.08 p. c. of raw material (for material substratum)....	30.34
<hr/>	
100 per cent	\$55.08
In the production of manufactures (capitalist receives)..	\$24.74
In the production of raw material (capitalist receives)....	13.64
The material substratum (produced by nature) added to capital	30.34
<hr/>	
Labor receives in the manufacturing process.....	\$20.18
Labor receives in raw material production.....	11.12
	<hr/>
	\$31.30
Total	\$100.00

This is granting also that the capitalist, when engaged in the production of raw material, does not profit any more than in manufacture. Now, let us take recourse with our "bible of the working class," and we find: "If a definite quantity of labor, say thirty days, is requisite to build a house, the total amount of labor incorporated in it is not altered by the fact that the work of the last day is done twenty-nine days later than that of the first. Therefore, the labor contained in the raw material and the instruments of labor can be treated just as if it were labor expended in an earlier stage of the spinning process, before the labor of actual spinning commenced."

Thus the labor expended in manufacturing and in production of raw material is homogenous human labor power amounting to \$31.30 pay out of every \$100 worth of product, the remaining \$68.70 are surplus value or fleecings in the shape of imaginary price form. When it is taken into consideration that the imperfection of our statistics compels us to allow a liberal percentage to labor, in order to carry the point, it will not appear to be an extra-

ordinary extravagant statement when stating. "out of every 100 points the laborer scores but 20.18 per cent and the rest counts *almost* entirely against him." . . . Page 119 Review. The pure surplus value, \$68.70, is the liberal pay which the capitalist or capitalists receive for an activity which is very doubtful as to its adding any value to the actual product. Karl Marx says, Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 11: "A certain stage of capitalist production necessitates that the capitalist be able to devote the whole of the time during which he functions as a capitalist—i. e., as personified capital—to the appropriation, and therefore control, of the labor of others, and the selling of the products of his labor."

This, then, is the quality of his genius which is rewarded so nobly and is accountable for the scanty returns to the exertions of labor. In the course of this noble activity it happens that he puts himself exclusively in the possession of the product, by supplying the raw material and selling the necessities of life, the unavoidable sequence in the process of appropriation. First he buys the labor-power, and when the laborer goes to market for necessities he finds the capitalist to be the sole owner of capital (means of production) and labor-power spent upon the substratum created by nature. That in the mad struggle for supremacy in the competitive market between the capitalist par excellence and the small, middle-class capitalist the former is benefited, and a small benefit at times accrues to the working class, is no reason for rejoicing on the part of the latter. The inexorable law of capitalist accumulation and appropriation demands that those small benefits must in the course of time run into their "proper" channels. It is for this reason that imperfect statistics should be used only to demonstrate a general tendency, and if the statistics of the United States Commissioner of Labor do demonstrate anything they are an undeniable proof that the wage of the laborers engaged in manufacturing have experienced a relative decrease. That the same proof would be obtained if we were furnished with correct statistics relating to the production of raw material falls more inside the pale of reasoning than into that of mere supposition. The condition of the laborers engaged in the production of raw material, compared with the condition of the laborers engaged in manufacture, gives ample reason for such thought. Even Chinatown in the metropolis is a paradise alongside of a mining town where, as "Mother" Jones says, "The wealth of our nation is produced." The material substratum is absolutely void of value, as are cotton and spindle in the factory, unless the labor-power of the laborer transforms it into use-values. In "Senior's Last Hour" (Marx), we find: "It is because his labor converts the cotton and spindles into yarn—because he spins—that the values of the cotton and spindles go over to the yarn of their own accord."

It is the lack of comprehension of the maxim, "Labor creates all wealth," which permits some to be mystified by so-called "investment of raw material and means of production ad infinitum," not thinking of the fact that all capital is surplus value or surplus product and that none of it creates itself of its own accord, but simply by virtue of labor-power lending its helping hand.

In closing, it may be stated that in the previous criticism it was intended to point out the uselessness of applying imperfect statistics for the purpose of proving a conclusion which can only be arrived at positively if perfect statistics are employed; therefore, it is admitted without hesitancy that we may only *take for granted* that which lies inside the frame of rational reasoning.

The facts stated by "Mother" Jones and brave souls like her, are telling a more reliable tale than the best statistics now at our disposal.

Carl Pankopf.

The Hero

Hail to the hero!

Decked out in blue, red and gilt, as in war-paint—

Rejoicing like a savage in a long head-feather and gold shoulder fringes—

Proud to commit with these adornments all the crimes for which he would be disgraced and punished as a felon without them,—

Modestly bearing on his breast a star and ribbon which say "I am a hero," as plainly as the beggar's placard says "I am blind"—

Followed by a brass band and bass drum, which screw up his courage at a pitch like the war dance and tom-tom of the Central African and redskin,—

Vain of his manliness in the field while indulging in effeminate quarreling over the honors, at the rate of a month's quarreling to a half-hour's fighting,—

Admitting that he obeys orders without thinking, and thus proclaiming his complete abdication of conscience and intellect,—

Rushing home from the fray to advertise himself in the magazines at a hundred dollars a page,—

Hail to the hero!

O shade of Cervantes!

Come back and draw for us another Don Quixote.

Prick this bubble of militarism as you pricked that other bubble of knight errantry.

The world yearns for your reappearing.

Come and hail the hero!

Ernest Crosby.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

In the Matter of Malthus, et al., Bankrupts

L' Economiste Francais, in a late issue, prints an article by Pierre Leroy-Beaulien on "The Stationary Condition of the French Population and the Remedies Proposed." Proceeding from an ultra-Manchester source, the article is suggestive of a comparison with the accepted Malthusian creed of the early days of the century just past. The salvation of the race lay, it was preached, in abstention from bringing children into the world; should civilized mankind fail in the performance of this negative duty, it was to suffer the penalty of increased mortality, and, but for our maudlin sentimentalism, might it not perhaps be both more scientific as well as more reverent, to view it as a benevolent dispensation of the all-merciful Providence, rather than as a penalty? Floods, earthquakes, epidemics, wars and—to bring it up to date—railway accidents and mine explosions, are in reality so many safety-valves of the human race, relieving it from the evils of a congested population.

The advanced nations of the world have to a very appreciable extent followed the Malthusian preachings. The conversion may have been forced by circumstances rather than brought about by moral suasion. However that may be, the conversion is complete, especially in France. And now comes a wail from the house of Malthus, decrying the low birth rate and high death rate as national calamities and going even to the extent of invoking state interference, that great bug-a-boo, as a remedy against depopulation. The bankruptcy of the Malthusian school could not be more complete.

Let us hear the facts. The growth of the French population in the XIXth century is shown by the following figures:

Year.	Population.
1809	27,000,000
1831	32,500,000
1872	36,000,000
1900	38,500,000.....

The birth rate to 1,000 population fell off as follows:

Year.	Per Cent.
1801	33.1
1831	30.3
1872	26.8
1899	22.3

The birth rates among the other civilized nations are above 30 to 1,000 population, the lowest rates being the following:

England	29.0
Belgium	29.0
Switzerland	29.0
Sweden	27.0

Studied by departments, the French rate is shown to be higher in industrial than in agricultural districts.

However, while in this respect France is at the bottom of the scale among the nations, the same tendency is observable in all advanced countries. These are the figures per 1,000 population for England and Wales:

1874-1876	35.9
1883-1885	33.4
1897-1899	29.5

In Scotland the rate has, within the last quarter of a century, fallen from 35.5 to 30, in Belgium from 32.9 to 28.9. The more primitive countries, Russia, Hungary, Italy, Spain and Portugal, with a preponderance of rural population, are the only exceptions in Europe.

The author ascribes the phenomenon to the growth of democracy and democratic pride and cites the following figures for Australia:

Periods.	Average birth rate per 1,000 population.
1866-70	39.9
1871-75	37.3
1876-80	35.7
1881-85	35.2
1886-90	34.4
1891-95	31.3
1896-98	27.2

While there is a small preponderance of males over females in Australia (88 females to 100 males), still this is compensated by the higher proportion of people of young age. In some colonies the birth rate is almost as low as in France, viz.:

South Australia	24.5
Victoria	25.8

In New Zealand, the most democratic of all the colonies, the steady fall of the birthrate has been accompanied by a rise of the age of marriage, viz.:

Birth rate:

1881	37.9
1898	25.8

Percentage married below the age of 25:

1882	72.0
1898	59.0

On the other hand, the death rate is higher in France than in any other country, viz.:

France	21.2
England	18.1
Scotland	18.4

The same results could be brought out by comparison with Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The most remarkable feature about it is the fact that the death rate has no relation to climatic and geographical conditions, being even higher in the mountainous departments than in the unhealthy lowlands on the Mediterranean shore or in the thickly congested Marseilles and vicinity.

It would seem that at least in regard to the death rate the pride of a growing democracy ought not to count for much; nor could it easily be connected with the higher death rate in the mountainous agricultural districts, where the democratic spirit is supposed to reside *par excellence*, than in the industrial Marseilles, where democratic pride is less conspicuous.

The remedies suggested by the author are interesting. He does not believe that exemption from taxation in favor of heads of large families would be of much avail, since it is obviously cheaper to pay the full tax-bill than to rear an extra supply of children. He would grant exemption from military duty to reservists having four children, but the chief cure consists in including a minimum of three children among the requisite qualifications for appointment to inferior civil-service positions. There are plenty of people, he says, aspiring to those positions; "no doubt," he thinks, "that would decide many among them to procreate with more ardor."

Marxist.

The Banishment of Tolstoi



ONCE or twice in a century some great soul arises who shakes civilization to its center. In custom, mankind are like the waters of a great sea. They are subject to their calms and storms. For awhile the currents will flow smoothly, swept by calm zephyrs, till anon some furious storm will beat upon them and lash the surface into unwonted anger. Unless some heroic Neptune arises who smites the stagnant waters with his trident of authority and agitates them to their very center they become foul and stenchful, resulting in social degradation and moral deformity. The same law prevails in religion, society and politics. The tendency of all usage is to become stereotyped and unelastic, so that when one arises who undertakes to inject a new force into the body politic or the religious order he must needs shatter the entire system before the truth can manifest itself.

As political governments from their primitive stages of despotism and autocratic power have again and again been shattered in order to introduce the freer principles of liberal monarchies and republics founded on the principle of human justice, so have the institutions of religion been time and again smitten by the power of the reformer, who has sought to deliver them from the enthrallment of bigotry and traditional dogma.

'Tis but a few hundred years since England had her Wicliff, Germany her Luther and Italy her Savonarola. And today Russia, that modern political nightmare which tantalizes the dreams of oppressed multitudes, has heard the voice of one who threatens her age-long stagnation with the fury of a shattering tempest. What Luther and Savonarola were to the reformation of the sixteenth century, Count Leo Tolstoi promises to be that of the twentieth century.

This modern and ardent reformer is endowed with all the qualities of those giants of the reformation which enabled them to seize the monster of spiritual deformity and ecclesiastical corruption and cast him from his seat of power. The tyranny of ecclesiastical Rome could not prevail before the uncouth thunders of Martin Luther or the far-seeing prophecies of Savonarola. Neither shall the perverted power, the political usurpation or the ecclesiastical autocracy of the Czar of Russia be able to withstand the keen criticism, the logical acumen, the literary finesse and the religious enthusiasm of Tolstoi, the evangelist of the religion of humanity and the restorer of the true Christ of Christianity.

Tolstoi has been banished, but of what avail is that? Was not Martin Luther anathematized and excommunicated? Savonarola, Melancthon, Erasmus and all the brave souls whose eloquence thundered against the Vatican, were not these unconsciously excommunicated? And yet, when was their voice silenced, their power destroyed? Against the fury of their onslaught, political and ecclesiastical Rome, of four centuries ago, fell groaning and defeated, praying for mercy and restoration. And likewise, before the determined opposition and serious criticism of Count Leo Tolstoi and his coadjutors, the benighted power of all the Russias will fall, tottering to the ground, till from the grave of a buried despotism shall be erected the superstructure of a liberal monarchy, whose humane tendencies shall prophecy that final republic whose blessings shall glorify the world.

Tolstoi is the only one among the royalist reformers of the age whose voice is heard behind the closed doors of secret conclaves and startles the ears of the half-crazed Czar, whose throne is trembling on the mouth of an intermittent crater. That Russia has banished Tolstoi is the beginning of the end of her political despotism. Tolstoi clearly sees that not only his own accursed country but the whole modern world cries for a reformation which shall be comprehensive and complete, affecting not only political institutions, but social, moral and religious, till all mankind shall be uplifted by its beneficent consequences. Tolstoi sees that the accursed political system which binds men as serfs to the soil, as galley slaves to the wheels of whirling machinery, and treats them as worse than cowering beasts of burden, to be scourged and abused by the whims and passions of aristocrats and heartless overseers, cannot be reformed and readjusted to principles of justice and humanity, until that other abusive system which is associated with it—the religious—shall be relieved of its incubus of theological superstition and ecclesiastical despotism. Tolstoi sees that the people will never again enjoy their just rights to the soil until the power of the priest has been destroyed, and men shall learn to think right before they can hope to live right. Tolstoi understands that the craft of the landlord is like that of the priest-craft, dependent upon the authority which traditional ignorance affords it and fearful of the light of that knowledge which shall brighten the paths of men and bless them with the benedictions of peace.

Tolstoi knows that you cannot destroy political injustice until you overcome religious ignorance and dogmatic bigotry. He knows that if men are to be permitted to fraternize in social and industrial relations, to live in such conditions as shall honor the golden rule and prevent avarice and injustice from depriving them of their rightful earnings and the fruits of honorable ambition, then first the autocratic powers of priests must be annihilated;

the insult to their intelligence which a medieval and barbarous religious creed presents must be forever abrogated. He knows that religion must be made free before political conditions can be exalted, and first of all reformations must needs be the enlightenment of the human mind in order that neither priest nor potentate, creed nor code, shall consign the human race to industrial degradation or religious enslavement. Hence, all mankind must today hail Tolstoi, novelist, litterateur, political agitator, religious reformer and social inspirer, as a universal leader, who, himself deprived of the luxuries of inherited wealth, excommunicated for the sake of his ideas, is the true deliverer that points the way to the Pisgah heights of religious liberty and mankind's social enfranchisement.

Henry Frank,

Editor The Independent Thinker.

New York City.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE next morning Julian rose early and took a train that carried him into the interior of Pennsylvania. On the way he looked squarely in the face his determination of the night before. When he shrank from it as quixotic he argued with himself that the unhallowed infatuation from which he now believed himself free demanded this act of expiation. His repentance would be insincere without a more positive result than mere freedom from a sense of guilt; he wanted to punish himself and make his escape into a forbidden paradise an impossibility. He would therefore deliberately assume the highest of moral obligations and make of them a wall of Troy to surround his soul. He believed that he needed such a wall and he planned the building of it with a melancholy satisfaction.

While in the train his thoughts returned to the illusive personality of Marian, for no longer could there be danger in such reflections. The image that he contemplated was an inglorious one; its brightness had fled, and its halo was wanting. Julian had once visited the interior of a Catholic reformatory, and as he recalled the procession which he had witnessed of heavy-eyed, down-cast young women, all wearing the garb of the penitent and the hopeless look of those whom the world has forgotten, he seemed to see Marian standing in the ranks with the Magdalen's coarse white cap covering her bright hair. It was a distressing fancy, but less repulsive than the image of the street woman with whom she had seemed permanently associated the night before. Feeling himself at last free from the spell of Marian's loveliness, and removed to the safe hill-top of a philanthropist's attitude of benevolent contemplation, as far as the street woman was concerned, the vague aspirations of the courtesan now appealed to him as deeply pathetic. Her appeal for more just social conditions stirred within him much uneasiness and dissatisfaction. He regretted that he had made no effort to aid or advise her.

His reflections were cut short by his arrival at a wayside station, where he engaged a buggy and driver and was soon far from the dust and noise of the railroad. The part of Pennsylvania which

he had entered was settled chiefly by a class of religious separatists known as Mennonites.

The driver whom he had engaged entertained him with stories of their quaint customs. They practiced a medieval charity very far removed from the principles of the well organized associations with which Julian was familiar; they fed every hungry traveler that passed by with the religious zeal of the monks of the middle ages; already their neat lanes threatened to become the highways of a great army of tramps. They discarded buttons from their clothing—even the men wearing hooks and eyes on their outer garments—and all ornamentation from their wagons and harness; they even washed each other's feet in the excess of their pious humility.

Trade had not had a chance to sharpen their faculties by long practice in driving hard bargains. They were purely agricultural in their instincts, as simple within as they were without, yet they had prospered. There were no finer farms to be seen than theirs; no more magnificent barns or handsomer cattle or cozier homes.

When Julian alighted for the seventh time to inspect one of his juvenile charges, the dark-haired Mennonite matron who met him on the threshold looked the twin sister of the dame from whom he had just parted down the road. The large, soft, black eyes, the olive skin and long oval face undoubtedly reproduced the sixteenth century type of continental Europe. The long hair, the solemn mein, the quaint, broad-brimmed, flat-crowned hats of the men were suggestive of the days of fierce persecutions. The record of prolonged suffering was still to be read in the gentle mournfulness of their faces, which had not yet acquired the placid, self-satisfied expression of the modern Quakers.

One of the seven small refugees from the horrors of a county poorhouse had been intrusted to a worthy woman who met Julian at her side door. The poorhouse had left its brand upon each one of the seven; in fact, each prodigy was a manufactured article constructed on the plan of perpetual pauperism and warranted not to lose any flavor of original sin or any shade of the besotted boorishness which it is the peculiar privilege of poorhouses to bestow. This Mennonite woman shook her head with a woe-begone air, exactly as six other matrons in Mennonite-land had shaken their heads when questioned about the behavior of the transplanted seven.

"He does not listen," she said, in a plaintive, high-pitched voice, her accent being decidedly German and not what is known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." "I would like him to be a good boy and stay with us, but he will not listen. Yesterday he ran off, and my husband ran behind him a great many miles and brought him back. We did not chastise him because he is little, and my hus-

band is a big man and might hurt him. We asked him with calmness where it was he wanted to go, and he said it was to the poorhouse! We would like a child that will do as other children do—play and talk and love my husband and me. But this boy—why does he want to go to the poorhouse?”

“Because he lived there nine years,” explained Julian severely. “He is used to the society of idiots and crazy people. He misses them. I wish you would try him a little longer—I know you are kind people.”

“Oh yes, we are kind people,” she agreed, innocently, as if kindness were too common an attribute to deserve comment. “If he would listen—if Clarence would only listen—we would like him very well—oh yes!” Her countenance brightened at the bare possibility of there coming a day of grace in Clarence’s calendar.

“This Mowgli—this American wolf-child,” mused Julian as he drove on—“finds even the simplest form of our civilization a succession of man-traps. No wonder he turns and runs—it is just exactly what many of us would gladly do if we dared!” He sighed heavily.

It was now late in the afternoon. The blood-red clouds around the setting sun recalled to his mind a picture in an old Bible of a sacrificial altar. His imagination leaped back to the thought of his renunciation—his self-sacrifice. The words seemed to be written upon the heavens in fiery letters. Both victim and priest would he have to be. He looked around upon the quiet Pennsylvania scenery, now robbed of its leafy bloom and blossom, and more than ever suggestive of soberness of thought. On every side the happy homes of the Mennonite people were preaching powerfully the doctrine of peace through self-abnegation—through the world and its standards passionately forsaken—and obedience to the religious and domestic affections accepted as the whole duty of man.

“How easily might one pursue an ascetic ideal in such a paradise of simplicity as this,” thought Julian, and a well-worn quotation from the New England seer passed through his mind: *“It is easy in the world to live after the world’s opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.”*

“But I am not seeking greatness,” cried out his fretful spirit, “but only purity of life. Why cannot I find a reasonable standard?”

He drew down his brows and looked sternly at the sunset. He read again in the brilliant rays the word “self-sacrifice.” Already the prospect frightened him. “If I could but live here—among these innocent people,” he thought restlessly, and reproached him-

self quickly for cowardice in wishing to flee from the world's opinions.

The driver pulled up suddenly before a modest cottage. He announced that it was here that the Mennonite widow lived whom Julian was in search of. It was the home of Martha McPherson and her fatherless babe. Here, then, the great sacrifice was to have its beginning.

CHAPTER XV.

In response to his knock a child's small face peered out and drew back with a shriek at the sight of a stranger. Julian pushed the door open and followed the fleeing child quickly into a plainly furnished sitting-room. The little one buried his face in the folds of his mother's skirts. It was Martha's child, and it was she who rose calmly to meet Julian, her pale eyes staring at him through steel-rimmed spectacles.

Julian surveyed the clinging child with some emotion.

"How changed he is—how changed both of you are!" He had forgotten that it was a baby's business to grow. But Martha's spiritual self seemed also to have grown unaccountably. She extended her hand with an astonishing air of country-bred composure, but disappeared quickly from the room, leaving Julian holding the tiny fist of the small "Thomas James."

The boy was pretty and fair-haired. He studied Julian's face with a gentle gravity. Evidently it puzzled him, for he put up a small hand to Julian's cheek, passing it slowly over his ear. He then shook his head and backed into a corner of the room, where he stood with his gingham pinafore in his mouth, regarding Julian dubiously.

A soft tap on the door diverted his attention. The door opened to admit a tall rustic wearing the costume of the Mennonites. His long black hair, beneath a shovel-shaped felt hat, reached almost to his shoulders. He carried a long riding whip and wore high boots in which he trod so heavily that the thin planks creaked with his weight. His clothes were severely plain, of cheap homespun, and splashed with mud. His face was beardless, but rough and weatherbeaten; he had a long, straight nose and great black, gentle eyes.

No sooner had the newcomer advanced well into the room than the child, with a scream of delight, ran and flung himself into his arms. The Mennonite lifted the boy high into the air and surveyed him with a smile of grave sweetness. He then sat down with the child on his knee. After saluting Julian he became absorbed in contemplation of the child. Julian observed the pair in silence. There was evidently great love between them.

Martha came in and took her stand behind the Mennonite's chair; no greeting passed between them and Julian wondered if he were a member of the household.

But now the widow entered and hastened to welcome Julian with confused apologies.

"It's good you've come. Oh, yes, we're glad to see you come, but there is a great deal to tell. Perhaps you will get angry with me for not telling you sooner, but none of us do write good enough to say so much in a letter. Oh, yes, *he* can write; he's a good scholar, Ephraim is, but his fingers get stiff with the hold of the reins. He drives the stage from White Horse to Bird-in-Hand every day in the week."

"Twice a day," corrected Martha.

"And he's been mail carrier here for ten year and more; ain't that so, Ephraim?"

Ephraim nodded, but Martha corrected her again—"Twelve year, mother."

"Well, that's what I said—twelve's more than ten, according to arithmetic." She took breath hurriedly and went on with signs of increasing nervousness.

"He has a house, too, Ephraim has, near the White Horse village; it has got five rooms. He owns it all to himself and ten acres around."

"Why, there's nearly eleven acres, mother, but there's no more than four rooms to the house, without you count the woodshed." The subject was too serious to be treated with inexactness.

"Well, I guess you'll make me out a story-teller next! Is not the woodshed as good as a room when it has both the doors and the windows?"

"He put them in himself," observed Martha softly, as she patted her boy's curls.

"Yes, yes! He put them in himself," repeated the widow, brightening considerably. "He's handy with his hands, Ephraim is, ain't that so, Ephraim?"

Ephraim nodded.

"He can build a house or a barn, and he can plough a field and raise grain; he owns a reaping machine, too."

"He lets it out in summer," added Martha, "and gets good pay for it."

"Ephraim gets good pay for all things—that he does; everyone will tell you that. You can ask all along the road from White Horse to Lancaster and you will hear no word spoken against Ephraim here."

"That's the truth, mother," agreed Martha, with an air of happy finality. She leaned both elbows on the back of Ephraim's chair.

Julian looked from one to the other. Was there any point to

this story of Ephraim and his incomparable virtues? Something more must be coming.

"I don't know but what Ephraim acts as if he were fond of children," Julian observed slowly, with an easy assumption of rustic placidity; its effect was reassuring.

The widow clasped her hands.

"Ah! He is so kind and so good—just like the Saviour does he like little children. He loves the child, Thomas James, as much as I do. * He will make himself a good father to the boy. Oh, yes! And if he has his way he will make a good husband to our Martha here."

"A husband?" Julian looked up with deepening interest.

"I will tell you—Ephraim is no talker—I will tell you how it is come to be done. Well—it's not done yet, but it's going to be, with your consent and your blessing—and the blessing of the Heavenly Father. It was this way. The little Thomas James fell sick about three month back—Oh, yes! A very sick child he was. We put onions on his stomach and I made him tea from three kinds of herbs, and we got the Hoo-doo woman to come, and she cut off a piece of his hair and his finger nail and buried them with a prayer; and she laid her hands on the boy three times; but he got no better, and eat his food he would not. We sent for the doctor that lives a mile across the fields, but his medicine did him no good. He said the Hoo-doo woman had hurt the child, which we knew was a wicked lie, and we told him so to his face. Then one day Martha had a bad dream, and she fell to crying all day about the child. Then she took it in her head that the doctor at the White Horse might cure him, for the folks speak good of him behind his back and everywhere else; so she goes to the store and leaves word for the stage to call for her and the baby by the next morning."

The widow stopped and looked hard at Ephraim, as if desiring him to take up the narrative, but with a gesture he signified his wish for her to proceed. She went on with cheeks glowing and eyes sparkling.

"Ephraim being the stage driver, he heard the sick child was to take the long cold ride, and him out o' doors for so long and his mother so sad over him, so over he brings with him a great shawl that once belong to *his* mother, and a hot brick for the feet of Martha to keep her warm also. Oh, yes! He was good to Martha and the child when he took them to the White Horse!" She looked at the Mennonite, who said nothing.

"So Martha, so full of sorrow with her trouble, heavy in her heart—Ephraim knew all about that from the folks around here." She looked at him again, and he nodded assent. "She sat herself down by the side of him with Thomas James in her arms. There

she sat, holding her boy like this and her head down so." She folded her arms and bent her head over an imaginary child, glancing at Ephraim, who assumed a slightly different posture with an air of having corrected an important detail.

"Oh, yes—that was the way she sat; I was forgetting! She spoke no word on the road, and Ephraim he looked far away from her; but he covered her in warm, and he made his horses go faster than they ever did go before. They got there safe, and found the doctor, and he told Martha the child was not to live long. That was what he said, but he wanted she should come to him two times the week with the child for to get the treatment and the medicine; and when Martha got back to the stage and sat herself down again by the side of Ephraim she was crying for the fear of losing her child. She was crying hard. And Ephraim he looked now at Martha after he had covered her in so warm and so good; and he looked again; and when he looked at her now for the third time—only the third time—it was as I tell you—his heart was filled with compassion. It was filled with compassion for her and the child! I have told the Lord's truth, Ephraim?"

The Mennonite inclined his head to indicate that he was satisfied. She went on with tender deliberation:

"Martha she looked up and saw the compassion in the eyes of Ephraim, and she was pleased that he had not been bold to speak to her. Is that not so, Martha?"

"He acted the part of a modest behaved man with me," said Martha, looking around proudly at Julian, "and he saw that I behaved like a modest girl every time—in spite of my trouble—that's what he said."

Ephraim corroborated this statement fully by nodding twice.

"Yes—Oh, yes! Every time!" cried the widow eagerly; "and it was many times she went with him to the doctor, and all the times it was just the same!"

"Until I spoke unto her," said the Mennonite, opening his lips for the first time to pronounce these words in a deep, guttural voice and leaning forward while he looked earnestly at the widow.

"Yes, yes!—until you spoke unto her! And in the beginning you spoke just three times. The first time you said the boy she held in her arms was worthy of a good mother; and the second time you said you had a dream like that the child was to get well—and Martha believed it was a true dream, for she knew Ephraim was a good, religious man. Then you said for the third time that the child was fair enough to have a good father—as well as to have a good mother."

"Two times I spoke that," corrected Ephraim, holding up two fingers.

"Yes, two times, Ephraim, in the same words always; and Mar-

tha came home and told me every word as you said it. I knew the Lord was working in your heart, but to Martha I said nothing that would matter."

"You said that he was a man of a kind heart—and full of grace—that was all you said, mother, and I thought nothing until Ephraim——"

"Until Ephraim spoke one cold, cold day, when the rain was falling and he was more full of compassion than ever—Ephraim spoke to Martha: 'Folks say your child has no father; is that the truth before the Lord?' And Martha looked at him and she says: 'It is the truth; I am both his father and his mother!'"

"Then says Ephraim, in a kind voice, 'He has a Father in Heaven.' So the tears came fast into Martha's eyes for *that*. She could not answer Ephraim all for a moment."

"No, not all for a moment," repeated Martha, speaking quickly, with a tremor in her voice. "But soon my voice come to me, and I said that I loved my boy just twice as much because he had no father on earth; and I kissed him. Then Ephraim says: 'Let me kiss him for the sake of his Father in Heaven.' So I let Ephraim kiss him. Then he says: 'It is not fair for you to have to love him for two.' And I said the child must have the love. And he says: 'I will love him up to the half that you love him.' And I—what more did I say, Ephraim?"

"You said, sorrowful, that no one but a father could do that. Then I told you right there that I his father would be. But your voice shook when you began for to speak the answer, and all I did hear with mine ears was to come in—to come into this house; so in come I, and led you by the hand to *her*," pointing to widow.

"Yes, and they did not need to speak the word, for I understood!" cried the widow. "I saw what was in their eyes—the love of the one for the other, and the child running up to the two of them! It was a happy day!" Ephraim kissed the child on the forehead.

"And I will become Amish," Martha declared, "and wear the Amish dress."

"Not Mennonite, but Amish," explained Ephraim; "that is to be like unto myself."

"Go get the dress and show the gentleman how it will become you to look when you are once married," said the widow. Martha obeyed quickly, and returned clad in the severely plain costume of the stricter branch of the Mennonites; a white kerchief was crossed over her bosom and a flat white cap covered her young head.

It was not a bridal costume, but the happiness in Martha's eyes made up for the sombreness of her attire. Her young face was almost pretty. Her grey eyes beamed merrily through her spec-

tacles. She smiled fearlessly upon Julian, then caught up her child and kissed him extravagantly.

"He has brought to thee a husband," whispered the widow, in quaint German.

"And to me a good wife—so shall she be by my side when the Lord Jesus has come here for the second time," said Ephraim, in solemn tones, sitting down heavily beside Julian and looking intently at him. Martha and the widow hushed their voices and the little one's prattle and sat down quickly with their hands clasped before them. Their faces suddenly put on the expression that people wear in church. They waited in reverent silence for Ephraim to proceed.

"For the second time," he repeated slowly, "but that is not so long away. It has been told to me in the night how that the Lord is to come soon—immediately soon—both the rich and the poor will He judge. But first, I tell you," holding up a thick forefinger, "it is to the poor first that He will come—first, before all the rest."

"Ephraim here has hearkened always to the voice of the Lord—that is why the truth is to him revealed—even to him before the ministers," whispered the widow to Julian. "When the Lord wills it he can speak good."

"Why will He judge the poor first?" asked Julian. "Are their sins heavier than the others?" Ephraim shook his head.

"Not the sins of them, but their burdens are the heavier. It is for this that He is to come so soon. For now we do live in the last watch. And the Lord Jesus will soon come to take into His hands the governments of the world, and with His hands He will make over those governments, so that it will no longer be that two, three—a dozen of men—will make the many thousands of dollars, and all the other men look unto those men for the day's work, so that they can buy bread for their children—a little bread for the one day only! No! The Lord Jesus Christ will make those rich men to work and the poor He will make to work—but the pay—it will be the same pay for the one as for the other! This is what was told unto me of nights."

"I trust He will not forget the wicked cities," said Julian, surprised at hearing from a simple countryman this new version of the street-walker's socialist programme.

"To the wicked cities He will come, rest assured!" The eyes of the Mennonite flashed darkly, his hands clenched on his knees. "I will tell you how it is to be done with those wicked cities. The Lord Jesus will come and His winnowing fan He will bring in His hand, and He will raise His hand so, and all those cities will He scatter to the four winds of His earth! He will scatter the cities and the people will flee—and flee before Him, as do the hares in a wind storm!"

"But all are not equally guilty, my friend; will He not remember the poor people in our cities?"

"Said I that the Lord will destroy those cities? No, I said it as it was told unto me; I said He will scatter them. Scattered they will be like the leaves when once they have fallen from the tree! The people will be scattered and scattered, and forth they will go into the country, where no cities are. For the Lord Jesus will drive them forth like leaves from the tree! And they will build them new homes in a country like unto this. But also the rich, they will be scattered even as the poor, and they will no more call unto the poor and say, '*Come, work for us for a little money—as little as we choose to give—lest ye starve!*' For all will work together for the same pay and much happiness will come—aye, and to the rich, for they will find peace in hearts—and deep happiness to Martha and me will come, if we do but abide in the faith; and to thee, and to all the world will come love and peace! I have said it as the Lord hath told me."

When Ephraim finished he wore the look of one who has done exactly as he is bidden and is content—having no responsibility—beyond obedience. Julian, rising to take his leave, clasped the enthusiast's hand warmly.

"I like you and your religion. I am glad to leave Martha in your hands. Is it not a good thing that the Lord's winnowing fan has driven her forth already from the wicked city?"

"Yes, it is good. All the signs pointed to the Lord's coming again soon, and one of the first signs was she."

"Yes, yes!" assented the widow, looking with cheerful approval at Martha. "I said it was the beginning of the Lord's work when I laid my eyes for the first time upon Martha here, for it was after I had heard the Lord's prophecy by the tongue of Ephraim, and I was looking about me for a sign."

"I was driven forth often enough before," explained Martha, clasping her hands thoughtfully before her, "but it was different this time. I had my child with me, and it was the Lord drove me forth."

"Like Hagar in the wilderness came she here—with the child fast in her arms," said Ephraim softly. He sat down again, spreading his hands on his knees, and motioned to Julian to sit beside him. After studying the floor carefully for a moment he said:

"I tell you it is in the mind of the Lord Jesus to bring nearer the markets to our people here. They go far to sell their hay and wheat in the city, but when the Lord comes He will bring the markets to the farmers, and every man to his neighbor will sell what he has. This is what I behold is yet to come. Is it not a good thing?"

He looked with eager simplicity at Julian, as if to note the effect of this striking proof of the Lord Jesus' commercial wisdom.

"Isn't it written," asked Julian, as he rose a second time to go, "that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light?"

"That is why He is to come for the second time. Ah, yes, the children of this world are wise—much too wise! agreed the Menonite, in no wise disconcerted.

Julian departed, secretly rejoicing that there had been no moment when he could have imparted to Martha the sad fate of Tommy and Jimmy. She would have to learn the truth some day, but now that her cup was running over with a new happiness he would leave her to the full enjoyment of it.

(To be continued.)

✂ SOCIALISM ABROAD ✂

Professor E. Untermann

FRANCE.

The two "unities" resulting from the Lyons congress have started a ferment in the ranks of the French socialists. Kindred elements of one party are continually seeking kindred elements in the other party. The most important transmigration is that of a section of the Blanquists of the Cher department to the Union Socialiste, so that there will be two socialist tickets in that department—to the advantage of the capitalist candidate. On the other hand, the autonomous federation of the Yonne department has informed the General Committee of the Union Socialiste that "the participation of a socialist in the Cabinet must come to a speedy end." Unless it does, the federation "will dissolve all relations with the General Committee and make such use of its autonomy as seems best for the general welfare of the party."

Millerand's position is very unpleasant just now, and he finds little sympathy among the class for whom he works in good faith. The Guedists denounce his pension bill for aged laborers as an attempt to deceive the people. Lafargue writes in *Le Petit Sou*: "The project does not proclaim the right of old laborers to live, but simply imposes on all laborers, young and old, the obligation to pay a new tax." *Le Petit Sou* declares: "A party like ours cannot distrust those too much for whom socialism is only a means of elevating themselves." The visit of the Czar to Paris adds new troubles to Millerand's old ones. "We are neither inquisitive nor bad," writes the Belgian *Peuple*, "but we should like to see what attitude Millerand, who still calls himself a socialist minister, will assume in saluting the autocrat who in violation of his platonic demonstrations assassinates the right and does violence to the conscience." The general committee of the Socialist party issued a strenuous protest against the policy of a cabinet that invites the Czar to a military review, immediately after the horrible butcheries that have decimated the manual and intellectual proletariat of Russia," and called on the representatives of the party to refuse all credits for the Czar's reception on penalty of being dishonored in the eyes of the proletariat.

Le Mouvement Socialiste shows that during the last ten years Russia has made loans to the amount of 127,634 million francs. Of 439,966,000 francs subscribed in 1889, 406,493,500 francs came from Paris, and of 406,871,000 francs loaned in 1890 Paris furnished 158,476,500 francs. "It is certain," says *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, "that an economic motive is at the bottom of the Czar's trip. . . . Every socialist in France will protest against this new loan that will serve to re-enforce the police and government machine of Czarism." Capitalist papers ridicule the idea of an "economic" motive of the Czar's trip, pointing out that "political" reasons of sufficient strength are given through the fact that France needs an ally against the triple alliance of Germany, Austria,

and Italy. But the same papers told us only recently that the triple alliance was crumbling to pieces on account of Germany's excessive tariff, and that the relations between France and Germany were improving. A glance at the map of China shows us that an alliance of Russia to the West, France in the South and Germany in the North would just now be very valuable for Russia against its old foe, England. And Prince Uchtomsky, one of the cronies of the Czar and an acknowledged authority on China, openly advocates such an alliance. You see, no economic motive whatever, pooh, pooh!

The quarrel with Turkey has revealed the fact that the Sultan kept a secret police organization in Paris for the purpose of tracking the "Young Turks" in that city. And now the socialists want to know what kind of an organization the Tsar is maintaining in the French capital, in which a monument was recently erected to the socialist Victor Considerant and dedicated—by the minister of war.

The progress of socialism is unrelenting. Bouveri, the doughty socialist mayor of Montceau-les-Mines, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by 11,815 votes out of 21,191. Comrade Lavigne of the Parti Ouvrier Français urged that candidates of the party be put in the field in every one of the 589 legislative election districts of France. The congress of labor exchanges provided funds to assist unemployed laborers in their search for work and pay their traveling expenses. Means were also devised to bring the socialists into closer relations with the soldiers in the army by opening reading rooms with free stationery and stamps for the latter. If direct intercourse between labor exchanges and soldiers is too difficult, then amicable relations are to be maintained by inviting the soldiers into the families. A new co-operative, l'Union, was opened at Lille on Sept. 14th. The referendum on the general strike of the miners in the coal basin of the Allier decided with 1,299 against 104 votes and 836 abstentions in favor of the measure.

GERMANY.

Cling—ling—ling! The curtain rises on the great and popular variety show "Modern Germany." In the background of the stage Billy the Heavenly on a second-hand throne, engrossed in the all-important task of growing a new style of whiskers. Martial music is heard all through the performance. Enter protestant junker, clerical industrial and Jewish banker; Lackey brings champagne and select Vuelta Abajo cigars. Enter proletarian in dirty overalls, nibbling a dry crust and carrying a bundle of "Vorwarts" under his arm. Billy: "Unpatriotic tramp! Get out!" Proletarian looks at him over his shoulder, takes a chair at the other end of the stage and begins to read "Vorwarts."

Junker (drinking): "Donnerwetter! Beastly life! Must double, treble, quadruple taxes on agricultural products." Billy: "First swallow my canal project!" Proletarian (reads): "Revenue taxes on agricultural products involve extra expenses for bread, meat, bacon and vegetables for Prussian army amounting to 10,925,460 marks per year; oats for horses, 6,716,000 marks more per year; total increase of expense for army through proposed tariff, 17,641,460 marks per year. This excludes maintenance of reserves and landwehr men on duty several weeks per year. It excludes, furthermore, fats, canned goods, skins, leather. Including these, the total increase will be 20,000,000 marks. Whence will this money come?" Billy: "Rats." Proletarian (reads): "Are the soldiers to receive short rations and be still worse fed than heretofore? Or are new extra taxes to be added to the burden of the German people?" Junker: "Idiot! Increased revenue, more money public treasury to pay extra expenses." Proletarian: "Pray, did not the Prime Minister expressly promise

that the surplus realized through the new revenue taxes should serve to provide for the widows and orphans of the lower classes? Do you class soldiers under this head?"

Industrial (at the top of his voice): "I want higher duties on raw materials and industrial products. Production one-third restricted in coal mines because demand low"—Proletarian: "He has to undersell the foreign market and force the prices up at home in order to raise funds for a new country residence." Industrial (howling): "The iron industry received 13 million marks' worth of orders less this year." than last, and the Dortmund 'Union' pays no dividends this year." Banker: "Ah, but the war in China greatly increased our Hamburg trade with China." Proletarian (reads): "Khaki export to China: beer 849,000 marks, wine 370,000 marks, champagne 81,000 marks, rum 21,000 marks, cognac 117,000 marks; total 1,538,000 marks. In spite of this elevating influence of the Khaki expedition on the liquor trade of the home country the export to China for 1900 is only one million more than in 1899. . . . The imperial order forbidding all public festivals and music during the period of mourning for the late empress Frederick throws 20,000 men out of employment for several weeks."

Messenger: "The Bank of Leipzig suspended payment!" Banker (collapsing): "Ach Himmel!" Proletarian (reads): "Receipts of 'Vorwärts' for one year, 317,934 marks; expenses, 291,788 marks; surplus, 26,146 marks. In the expenses are included 20,000 marks sent to Austria for assistance of socialist elections; 67,377 marks assigned to socialist press of Germany; 10,000 marks to 'Het Volk' in Holland; 4,800 marks to 'Volksrecht' in Zurich, Switzerland; 2,600 marks to 'Vorwärts' in Cracow." Second Messenger: "Financial editors of leading papers arrested for accepting hush money from dishonest bank directors. The Bank of Dresden has failed!" Industrial (collapsing): "Allmachtiger!" Proletarian (reads): "Co-operative 'Production' in Hamburg, after two years of existence, is building its own house with store, restaurant, 16 suites of furnished rooms, stable, wagon shed and storage rooms. Increase of membership in one year from 2,859 to 7,157. Sales in 5½ months from 163,748 marks to 940,584 marks. Socialist co-operatives doing well all over the country. Progress of co-operatives in Saxony from 1896 to 1899: membership from 118,326 to 179,843; sales from 31,139,434 marks to 46,542,910 marks; employes from 1,518 to 2,140." Messenger: "Extra! Extra! 32 protest meetings against taxes on grain held in one single day in Dresden and suburbs! 700,000 pamphlets against this usury distributed in Berlin during one day! Thousands attend protest meetings all over the country." Junker: "Verflucht!" (collapses.). Proletarian (reads): "Alleged murderer of Lieutenant Colonel von Krosigk sentenced to death in spite of insufficient evidence. Petty officers who gave testimony favorable to accused notified that government will not enlist them for another term. Some of these men have served from 8 to 11 years, and will now lose all the benefits of 12 years' service that were their incentive for serving over the regular 2 years' term. . . . Sentences of socialists in 1900-1901 for "political" crimes two years of confinement, 32 years 11 months and 2 days' prison and 26,900 marks in fines. . . . Tyranny in the army, oppression of civilians." Billy: "Yes, I'll show you that I am *It*." Proletarian (aside): "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." Messenger: "Extra! Extra! Socialist candidate in Friedberg (Hesse) elected for municipal councillor. Socialist vote in Memel-Heydekrug and Dortmund almost doubled! Socialists discover election frauds in Baden!" *It* collapses. Proletarian exit, whistling: "So leben wir, so leben wir, so leben wir alle Tage!" Curtain drops and reveals the

following extract from the "Vorwarts" on McKinley's assassination: "If it is true that the aggressor has confessed himself an anarchist and declared that he did only his duty, then we are confronted by a deed the criminality of which is only surpassed by its idiocy. Nobody but a complete imbecile could be the victim of the mad idea that the death of President McKinley would bring about any change in the political and social development of the American commonwealth. The mistaken attempt to transform social conditions by the removal of a single individual becomes so much more appalling when this individual has been entrusted with the administration of public affairs by a majority of the nation, and when that individual, as in McKinley's case, was by no means the driving and deciding factor in determining the form of the national policy, but only the expression of the arrangement of social forces for the time being." . . . Criminal statistics in Prussia: In 18,049 cases of criminals 16,355 earned less than 900 marks per year; 15,906 crimes against property were the cause of the last arrest and 14,121 crimes against property the cause of the first arrest; 6,086 criminals were below 18 years of age when they committed their first crime and in 8,603 cases the father, or mother, or both parents, died before the criminals were 18 years old; 4,930 criminals were drunkards, 3,085 tramps, and 25 per cent of the females were prostitutes; 10,080 had received insufficient or no education, and 94 per cent of the whole number are liable to relapse. Criminality is greatest where employment is scarce and *smallest where the socialist vote is strongest.*

BELGIUM.

Reaction and progress are strenuously active in their preparation for the battle royal over universal suffrage, each side in its own peculiar way. There is the coercive power of the state, ruthlessly wielded in the interest of the ruling class, here enlightened intelligence calmly marching toward liberty.

The Attorney General requested all public authorities to inform him of any violation of the laws of July 20th, 1831, and March 25th, 1891. If any socialist only brush the provisions of these laws in agitating for universal suffrage, or if the socialist press publishes any articles or pamphlets which "seem criminal to the authorities," woe to the offenders! *Le Peuple*, like a faithful watchman, at once sounds a note of warning. The speakers and writers will once more be dogged! Be careful, friends. Look out for provocations! No unnecessary suffering! Remember that courage starts an enterprise, but discretion brings success!"

The government tries to increase the army by clandestinely adding 12,500,000 francs to the war budget—a *socialist officer* exposes the abominable condition of the privates' barracks, messes and camps. The minister of war promotes twenty of his favorites to the rank of brigadier of gendarmes over the heads of 150 well qualified members of the corps—the *socialist gendarmes* of Brussels show that a certain manufacturer, assisted by the minister of war, foists his old stock of aluminum canteens on the army at 10 francs apiece. Three thousand gendarmes would gladly miss these "useless incumbrances." An appropriation of 12,000 francs is assigned to the budget of the minister of war for the purpose of increasing the salaries below 3,000 francs—a *socialist member* of the war department publishes proofs that the salaries above 3,000 francs were increased instead. A clerical journal ridicules the "honest bourgeois who dreams of a country without a strong army"—and the liberal *Journal de Bruxelles* replies: "The majority of the clericals content themselves with an army composed

exclusively of workingmen. They do not see that these children of the working class will be so much less disposed to defend the wealth of others, as those others don't want under any condition that their own children go to the barracks and camps to learn the art of war." The public school budget is proportionately as high as the German—Vandervelde nevertheless shows that 100,000 children between the ages of 10 and 15 never gain access to school, and that the average yearly attendance is only 196 instead of 249 days. Over 100,000 children between the ages of 6 and 11 attend school, but only 36,000 aged 11 to 14 years remain. Only 25 per cent of all the school children go through a full course of primary instruction, and the attendance is smallest where wages are lowest.

The presumptive heir to the throne refuses his patronage to the National Anti-Tuberculosis League, the clericals vote against appropriations for fighting this disease that carries off 20,000 Belgian workingmen per year, 12,000 of whom are between the ages of 20 and 30. All this is grist for the socialist mill, and *Le Peuple* writes: "The government augments the already considerable subsidy for the amelioration of the equine race by 100,000 francs per year.....As to the protection of the human race against diseases like tuberculosis that decimate and destroy the laboring classes, the government does not care.....It is always the same policy of the ruling classes, expressed by Napoleon long ago: 'Take good care of the horses, for they cost us much money. As for the soldiers, we can get them for nothing'.....There is no public peace, gentlemen of the capitalist class, as long as your political laws sanction injustice in favor of your class, as long as those laws constitute a continual injury against the working class."

Some socialists still fear that universal suffrage for women will result in bringing fuel to the clerical fires, especially in rural districts. But the city industries employ 29,000 women more than does agriculture. Besides the co-operatives of the *socialist farmers* are very active and teach eminently practical lessons. And such incidents as the inauguration of the new Maison du Peuple in the little country town of Ninove offer exceptional opportunities for ever new demonstrations in favor of "U. S. and R. P.," universal suffrage and the republic.

The inquiry started by the International Bureau in Brussels for the purpose of ascertaining whether an international movement against the Boer war could be inaugurated has brought negative answers from all sides. Hyndman holds that at present all attempts of the International Congress to stop the war would be fruitless. Singer, Auer and Kautsky of Germany, Ferri of Italy, Jaures and Guesde of France and Fauquez of Switzerland have given similar replies.

DENMARK.

The Scandinavian Trade Union Congress, held in Copenhagen last month, heard the following interesting reports: *Denmark*: At the end of 1900, the socialist party was represented by 14 deputies, 2 senators, 556 communal councillors, 56 municipal councillors, 74 members of the tax committee. Copenhagen alone has 17 socialist councillors. Forty-three thousand socialist votes were cast, and in Copenhagen \$3,000 for the election expenses were collected in one single day. *Socialdemokraten* has a daily circulation of 45,000 copies, and the aggregate daily sale of socialist papers amounts to 1,000,000 copies. *Socialdemokraten* advocates the formation of a Pan-German coalition of workers as a step toward the International union. *Sweden*: 1,150 unions, with 67,000 members, are in existence; 41,000 members belong to the national federation of unions. The iron workers and typos do not belong to the national federation—18 union papers. The socialist party counts 44,-

100 members in 75 localities—but three-fourths of them are as yet excluded from suffrage. Only one socialist deputy, Branting, in the legislature, elected by the help of the small traders. An active agitation for universal suffrage is carried on, and a national congress for this purpose will be called as soon as the new election bill will have been before the legislature. Not only socialist papers and organizations are invited to agitate for this congress, but all who advocate universal suffrage. If the bill is not accepted a general strike will be called, and Denmark and Norway will lend assistance. A special fund, after the model of the Belgian, has been created. The socialist party issues three dailies and five weeklies. The co-operative movement is rising; 20 co-operatives have formed a national organization, in which the socialists are participating. *Norway*: About twenty thousand laborers are unionized, half of them belonging to a national federation. There are about 150 socialist organizations, 49 of them in Christiania with 5,760 members, 101 in the country with 5,161 members. At the last Storting elections 7,013 votes were cast by the party, 6,066 more than in 1897; the total electoral vote of the country being 230,000, the socialists polled about 3 per cent. Universal suffrage for all male citizens at least 25 years of age was obtained in 1890 through the influence of the socialists, and female suffrage for municipal elections.

The congress advocated the formation of a general committee for obtaining information on business crises, strikes, lack of employment, etc., and a meeting of all trade union secretaries at every international congress for the purpose of studying methods of organization. The following resolution on the farmer question was adopted: "We do not wish to attach too much importance to the creation of a system of small farms. The most natural principle is that of production on a large scale. . . . But we shall continue to organize the small farmers and the farm laborers, economically and politically."

The Landsting's elections in Denmark resulted in the election of 416 liberals and socialists; only 41 conservatives retained their seats. The majority of the liberals acknowledge that the victory is due to the socialists who have imparted to the liberals "a thorough understanding of economic questions." A few bourgeois individuals of the liberal party, however, circulated a manifesto thanking the king—for governing the people over thirty years against the will of the people and their representatives. "Of course," writes *Socialdemokraten*, "that manifesto does not in the least express the sentiment of the people, no, not even of the liberals."

SPAIN.

The locals of the Socialist party and of the labor federation in Bilbao issued a joint protest against the outrages of the authorities against the laborers of Sevilla, La Coruna and other places; against the employers who refused admission to their factories to the recently appointed factory inspectors of the reform society; against the mayor who in violation of the law omitted to notify said society of the conduct of the employers and to take measures to enforce the law.—*La Lucha de Clases* denounces the bull fights as "a savage spectacle, unworthy of our civilization," and an "opportunity for the bourgeois to squander the money wrenched from the exertions of the working class."—The Typographers' Union of Bilbao has gained a raise of 50 cents (Spanish) per day in the printing office of the Order of the Holy Heart of Jesus (Jesuits).—Active locals of the socialist party are stirring in all the large towns of the land.—The Bilbao comrades kept vacation schools and colonies for their children during the summer.—*El Socialista, Madrid*, censures the

ill-advised general strike of the building trades in Gijón: "Its failure was very natural. Unless the laborers wished to weaken the important labor movement of that town by bloodshed, there was no ground for such a brainless enterprise. The employers are to-day very strong in resources, hence it behooves the laborers who are still feebly organized to prepare well and give unity to their movement above all other things."

ITALY.

The silk industry in the plain of the Po river is being ruined by speculators.—The "Reichspost" correspondent writes: "The farmer who lives and works on his own sod is a rare specimen along the Po. The best part of the fertile land is in the hands of the great feudal lords and money barons. Some of them carry on agriculture with the brutality characteristic of the monopolist, while the majority rent their holdings to small colonists. In order to raise the funds for the high rent, the tenant exploits the land and his laborers, until the productivity of the most fertile soil sinks and he can no longer endure the yoke of the hard and tricky contracts. Count Jacini declares in his official "Report on the Situation of Farmers in Italy" that their position is worse than that of the slaves of ancient Rome.—The socialists of Milan issued a new organ, *La Lega dei Contadini* (The Farmers' League).—Sixty-six locals of the socialist party have approved of the tactics advocated by the National committee and the deputies (see Int. So. Rev., Aug., 1901), and only 10 locals are opposed to them.

ARGENTINE.

The socialist party held its fourth congress on July 7th; 36 delegates from 21 locals took part. A strong class conscious movement is developing. The comrades have peculiar difficulties to contend with, as shown by the following resolution clipped from the *Vanguardia*:

The question of religion has inflamed many comrades who lose sight of the fundamental questions and devote themselves to matters of minor importance. The congress regrets that such questions arise in the party and proclaims emphatically the freedom of every one to hold his own religious views. In order to avoid such questions in the future, the congress recommends that party offices be only entrusted to persons who practice no religion.—The following article with a woolly West flavor was retained in the by-laws: "No member of the party shall take recourse to arms in settling personal disputes on penalty of expulsion from the party."

SWITZERLAND.

The socialists in Bern held mass meetings protesting against the reactionary policy of the government using police and militia against its own citizens in the interests of capitalists. The *Vorwärts* correspondent writes: "Everybody feels that this mass protest is not sufficient, but only a warning to the ruling classes, and that a new activity for the further extension of the labor movement and the creation of a strong, aggressive and uncompromising social democratic party must now begin."

JAPAN.

What is the matter with the Japanese judges? They acquitted Comrade Katayama, who was arrested for publishing the manifesto of the socialist party in the *Labor World*, on the ground that the manifesto

contained only social and political doctrines "that are in no way contrary to the laws of the country." The public prosecutor has appealed against the decision. In the meantime the capitalists had better "see" the judges.

HOLLAND.

Two more socialists sent to parliament, Comrades Hugenholtz and Helsdingen. That makes 9 in all, and Troelstra left out in the cold—to stir up the animals.

NEW ZEALAND.

The New Zealand Times states that a Socialist Party is forming in this "workingmen's paradise." Strange. Have not we been told all along that New Zealand is the "most socialistic" country in the world? Comrade Robert Rives La Monte's impressions of this proletarian eldorado knock the bottom out of this iridescent air castle.

"As far as I can make out," he says in a recent letter in the Worker, "the radical movement here (what Lloyd calls 'the Revolution of 1890') was a class struggle between the small farmers and the big land owners. The small farmers needed the support of the city workers; hence the labor program, compulsory arbitration, and the great consideration shown by the government to trade unions. . . . The most amusing thing about the situation is that all New Zealand has gone daft with 'jingoism,' 'militarism,' 'imperialism,' etc., over the South African war. . . . There is no socialistic—that is, no class-conscious—feeling here, and, indeed, the proletarians are not as yet a majority, so that agitation will be difficult. . . . The government labor department does not do half the things Lloyd's book said it did. It confines itself almost exclusively to furnishing men to the railroad department for construction work, and if a man is not an experienced pick-and-shovel hand, and often if he is not married, the department will do nothing for him. The ordinary man out of a job has to go to the private employment agencies here as elsewhere. . . . A compact group of labor members in parliament could be of the greatest service. But they must be class-conscious; labor members who are simply a tail to Premier Seddon's kite are worse than open reactionaries."

Add to this the report of "Vorwärts" that Premier Seddon is sharply criticizing the arbitration boards. Consider, furthermore, that the Wellington Times is telling the labor unions "if they do not take note of the signs of the times and mend their ways accordingly they must not complain if their best friends cut them adrift and insist upon the repeal of laws which are being abused." You will then be prepared for the news that the "country without strikes" is on the verge of losing that distinction.

Already the farmers are forming organizations for the purpose of demanding the repeal of labor laws that "have made wages artificially high and injured the farmers as employers of labor," and the repeal of protective duties. Seddon is steering an amendment to the arbitration law through the legislature which will turn its point against trade unions.

"It is a good thing for the trade unionists," says La Monte, "to learn that they must cease relying on the favors of a middle class ministry, and must rely solely on themselves and the efficiency of their organizations. . . . They will thus develop a militant, class-conscious spirit."

See that point?

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN.

SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Socialist party consists at present of 73 groups with about 10,000 members. The press is made up of 13 publications.

At the last general election held in May 25,400 votes were cast for the party, but no candidates were elected on account of the frauds, the intrigues of the government and the coalition of the bourgeois parties. The socialists took part in the election for the sixth time. The vote has been steadily increasing since 1891. It was 5,000 in 1891, 7,000 in 1893, 14,000 in 1896, 20,000 in 1898, 23,000 in 1899, 25,400 in 1901.

The party is represented in the municipalities of Bilbao (4 councilmen), Burgos (1), Baraenedo (1), Gallarta (1), Maureza (1).

The strongest organization in Spain is the "Union general de trabajadores," made up of the active element of the socialists and following their tactics.

THE BULGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Labor party of Bulgaria was founded in 1891 under the regime of Minister Stambouloff and consisted of scattered secret societies. In 1892 two Socialist parties made their appearance. As there were no great differences of opinion between these two parties, they united in 1893 under the name of Social Democratic Labor Party of Bulgaria. This party held its first congress in Sofia, in July, 1894. Its eighth congress was recently held in Plevna.

There are 69 locals with 1,984 paying members, 4 co-operatives with 915 members and about 10 labor unions. From July 1st, 1899, to June 30, 1900, 194 public meetings, 458 business meetings, 102 literary and musical entertainments were given and 232 public lectures held.

The official organ of the party is the *Rabotnitschesky Vestnik* (Labor Journal), has a circulation of 2,500 copies, and the socialist reviews, *Novo Vreme*, *Obshto Delo* and *Tronv*, each have 1,000 to 1,200 subscribers.

In 1894 the party gained two seats in the Chamber, which were maintained in the elections of 1896. In 1899 six more seats were conquered.

But the government, frightened at the progress of the party, refused to acknowledge the representatives of the people, suppressed the movement by force and scattered the inhabitants of the socialist election districts throughout the land. In consequence, only one socialist deputy, Comrade Georgian Kirkhoff, editor of the *Rabotnitschesky Vestnik*, holds a seat in the legislature. The number of votes cast amounts to 13,302.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

The iron and steel strike is a thing of the past. The Amalgamated Association has met with a crushing defeat, and what its future course will be is problematical. At least a dozen union mills were lost, and the mere verbal agreement that union wages will be paid is of little importance, as experience proves that when the magnates have the power to reduce wages and the desire to do so they do not hesitate to use that power. The calling off of the strike aroused much bitterness among the men, proving conclusively that the plutocratic press lied shamefully when the charge was daily made that President Shaffer was keeping the men out of the mills against their will and that they were anxious to return to work. It is probable that the strike will be continued here and there by individual lodges, but their chances of winning are very slim. Many of the rank and file are discussing the advisability of attacking the trust with a political club by joining the Socialist Party, and onlookers are wondering whether the miners will be Morgan's next victims.

The anthracite miners have framed their demands and their officials are attempting to secure a hearing from the trust to have them considered. The miners expect, among other things, that their organization will be recognized by April 1. Morgan has given no sign, however, that he intends to treat with the workers as a union, and the leading capitalist journals of New York are already predicting that serious trouble is likely to come, and that the miners will meet the same fate that the iron and steel workers did if they persist in enforcing their "unreasonable demands." The movements on the industrial chess-board will be watched with interest during the next few months. There is no doubt that the trust barons, flushed with victory in the fight with the mill workers, will not yield without a struggle.

Centralization of capital has been somewhat slow during the past month, only about \$55,000,000 having been invested in new trusts, but absorption of independent plants by combines has gone steadily forward. Many of the smaller railways have also been merged into the large systems and there is now practically no competition. Steamship lines on the oceans and lakes are also coming under one central power. The tobacco industry is to be organized on the same lines as the Standard Oil Company, while the welding together of the coal industries of the various states is continuing in a manner satisfactory to those who are planning the formation of a gigantic national bituminous trust. On account of the fact that most of the industries are wholly or partly trustified, the formation of new trusts must necessarily cease. Future developments will probably be in the direction of combining the middlemen and distributors, drawing in the independent concerns, amalgamating and consolidating various combines and the organization of trusts of trusts, thus making possible socialism in our time.

The Pacific Coast Citizen, Portland, Ore., is a new Socialist Party paper.

Striking machinists, boilermakers, patternmakers and helpers of Seattle, Wash., held a large mass meeting and came out strong for socialism.

Philadelphia United Labor League, a large central body, in discussing the recent franchise steal in that city, declared in favor of socialism and steps will be taken to support the new Socialist Party morally and financially.

The Challenge, H. Gaylord Wilshire's paper, has been removed from Los Angeles, Cal., to New York.

The new Socialist Party has been gathering funds for the iron and steel strikers.

The Comrade, illustrated, published in New York, and Here and Now, printed in Rochester, are names of two new monthlies issued in the interest of the Socialist Party.

The powerful Flint Glass Workers' Union elected three Socialists as delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, and also a committee composed of Socialists to draft a preamble and declaration of principles to show the position the organization occupies in relation to present economic and political conditions. That's real progress.

L. P. Wild, one of the original organizers of the People's Party, has written an open letter in which he says there is now nothing left for progressive Populists to do but join the Socialist Party.

Steam Engineers' Union of Denver has weekly discussions on socialism, and the printers of Charleston, S. C., are circulating socialist literature.

About 360 turpentine manufacturers of Florida recently held a meeting and decided to form a trust. They informed each other that "employees receive too much," and decided to cut wages. Also to restrict production and raise prices. That's the usual way it's done. The trust game is a lead-pipe cinch. Workingmen are foolish in not being trust magnates.

The formation of the international match trust has resulted in 700 workers being thrown out of employment.—J. P. Morgan has given orders that the business of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, the Burlington and tributary railroads be centralized, which means that hundreds of the office and transportation workers will have to walk the plank.—Orders have gone forth from New York to dismantle some of the small mills of the billion-dollar steel trust this winter. Concentration is squeezing hard in some directions.

Swift & Co., of Chicago, have put in a new egg candling machine. It has a capacity of 26,000 eggs an hour. Heretofore the work has been done almost wholly by hand, which is necessarily very slow. The new contrivance displaces one-half of former employes and does five times as much work; it is very simple of construction and inexpensive. It was invented in England.

A Belgian inventor by the name of Tobiansky is reported to have discovered a method by which smoke can be turned into light. The smoke is gathered from any kind of fire and forced into a receiver. It is then saturated with hydrocarburet and a brilliant light results. U. S. Consul Mahin is investigating the method, and likely as not the Standard Oil Company will make a heavy bid to control the new light, if possible.

A new machine, designed to do eight different parts on a shoe, will soon be placed on the market. Every part will work automatically. The new device will do heel shaving, rough scouring, fine scouring, heel edge blacking, top-lift blacking, heel burnishing, top-lift burnishing and breasting. The inventor of the Rockingham burnisher is the inventor of this latest tool of production. The Union Boot and Shoe Worker says the machine "will be a great labor-saver, eight parts being done in the time that one is done with the present machinery, and as only an ordinary laborer is required to operate the machine, he will probably displace seven skilled mechanics." The shoeworkers are, therefore, up against the new method of production harder than ever.

A little machine which threads 1,000 needles a minute is on exhibition in Minneapolis. It was invented in Switzerland and is used in connection with a new loom for embroidering fine Swiss and Hamburg laces, and operates almost automatically.

Elevator constructors formed a national union with eight locals to start with.

A New York daily says that fully a dozen different street-cleaning machines have been invented recently and that the "white wings" appear to be doomed.

Sixteen painters are to be displaced by a new painting machine operated by two men.

The new Hungarian system of telegraphy is now in practical operation between Budapest and Flume, a distance of 375 miles. A speed of 40,000 words an hour is obtained, and the messages are written in Roman characters, requiring no transcription. The system will be established in France and Germany and prominent capitalists of this country are trying to secure the American rights for the new method.

An Iowa inventor has completed a motor that promises to aid materially in revolutionizing motive power. It uses an infinitely small amount of fuel or water. Prominent railway officials are said to be taking a lively interest in the new invention and are making enthusiastic claims for it.

Daniel Drawbaugh, of Harrisburg, Pa., who claims to have invented the first telephone, says that after two years of experimenting he has developed a new system of wireless telegraphy. He utilizes the electric currents of the earth instead of the ether currents.

About 2,500 carriage workers were locked out in Cincinnati by a bosses' combine, and it is frankly and publicly stated that the object is to disrupt the unions. Of course, an injunction was applied for and secured, and, during the discussion of the matter, the judge declared that it was unnecessary for defendants to come into court when the restraining order was made, which means that workingmen can be enjoined by a sort of drum-head court-martial or inquisition method. It is a foregone conclusion that they are guilty of anything that the master class charges. Honestly, what have workingmen secured during the past twenty-five years of voting? New kind of shackles?

The big seamen and dock workers' strike in San Francisco has been dragging along wearily and the bosses are leaving no stone unturned in their effort to destroy the unions. Like the Dayton employers, who are making no denial of the fact that they are trying to disrupt labor organizations, and who have sued union men for \$25,000 damages for boycotting, the 'Frisco bosses have also brought suit against

strikers for damages. Nowadays when a workingman who may happen to own a little home or have a few dollars invested goes on strike, he takes chances of having his property fall into the hands of the boss who controls the wealth he produces in the shop. Yet wage-workers vote to uphold the system that is their own undoing.

Another automatic printing press feeder that can shove 5,000 sheets an hour is a new labor-displacer announced.

Columbus trade unionists adopted resolutions denouncing ex-Congressman John J. Lentz, a "workingman's friend," for procuring an injunction against striking brickmakers of Roseville, O. Lentz and Gov. Nash are owners of the company. While in Congress Lentz was one of the loudest howlers against injunctions. He now says that since the workingmen voted in favor of injunctions at the last presidential election he is in favor of giving them all of their medicine that they want.

A Chicago judge has decided that because a striker approached a non-union worker and said, "May I talk to you a moment?" the said striker violated an injunction and can be punished for contempt of court. Such things happen in Russia occasionally, too.

When the miners employed in the United Vereda copper mine demanded an eight-hour day, Senator Clark, who also poses as "a workingman's friend," locked them out and said he had "studied the eight-hour question and there is nothing in it." The men fought for several weeks and were defeated. Clark, who is a good Democrat, has an income from his copper properties estimated at \$10,000,000 a year, while the men poison and ruin their bodies in digging out this wealth for him.

Employers' combinations of Columbus, Dayton and Springfield, O., Chicago, and other places, are forming "unions" that they can handle. Members of present bona fide labor organizations are barred from membership and strikes are prohibited. In extraordinary cases, where bosses cannot settle grievances of individual workmen, arbitration between the employer and the president of the "union" is permissible. The new scheme will hardly prove much of a success.

A St. Louis paper has just discovered that a national law was enacted in 1892 to impose a penalty of not less than \$100 or more than \$1,000 on any railroad company that discharges an employe for being a member of a union. The law has never been enforced, and won't be. Still the corporations control the votes of their workers largely.

Labor Commissioner of Kansas has issued a report showing that wages of railway employes have decreased from \$596 in 1898 to \$523 in 1900—a loss of \$74 in the yearly earnings of railroad men. Freight rates remained "stable" and dividends prove that there must be prosperity in the land, as the railway workers of Kansas contributed nearly \$2,000,000 to the stockholders through the air-line reduction route. Everybody, therefore, must be happy in Kansas and voting for the two old parties is still the fad.

An Indiana union went to the trouble of getting out a book and printing the records of state legislators to prove that they are corrupt. It was hardly necessary.

Coal operators of Kansas announce that in the future they will resist the miners' union in every shape and form. No; there's no class struggle!



BOOK REVIEWS



Government. John Sherwin Crosby. Peter Eckler. Paper, 112 pp. 25 cents.

An exposition of Single Tax with a few extra vagaries. Repeats all the talk about "Natural Rights" that has been exploded for three generations. Reverses facts as to evolution and makes government the determining social factor, instead of merely one expression of a certain stage of economic evolution. The book is mainly interesting as showing to how great a degree the vagaries of the pre-revolutionary period in France are reproducing themselves here.

The Kingdom of Heaven; a Drama in Five Acts. C. L. Phifer.

We are informed, as if it were not something to be regretted instead of proudly announced, that it was "set from the case, without being written." Why a socialist should make such a concession to the demand for "freak literature" is hard to see. This is the more to be regretted since a study of the play (which is a little after the style of the old "miracle plays") really contains evidence of considerable native talent and ability at blank-verse making. It is a pity that the play was not written ten times, instead of not at all, as it then might have been of real permanent value.

How I Became a Socialist. Biographical Sketches, with Portraits of H. M. Hyndman, William Morris, Walter Crane, Robert Blatchford, Tom Mann, etc. Twentieth Century Press. 81 pp.

This is one of the books that indicates that the socialist movement has reached the stage where it has a history. A most interesting history it is, too. One could quote from it until the whole book was gone and still find no dull passages. Here we are introduced to the personalities of all those we have heard so much about. We hear Hyndman tell how he started in as a Radical at college, then wandered over Europe writing for papers and associating with Mazzini, around to Australia, where he converted "squatters" to land nationalization. Then came the Commune, which aroused his sympathies, followed by a trip across the United States, which convinced him "that mere Radical Republicanism had no good effect on the social question." Six or seven years of study of the East Indian question "threw a flood of light . . . on the capitalist system." Then a copy of Marx's Capital fell into his hands, and "from that time onward," he says, "I was a socialist, and in 1880 I made up my mind I would do my utmost to organize a Social-Democratic Party in this country."

William Morris closes the story of his evolution with these char-

acteristic words: "It is the province of art to set the true ideal of a full and reasonable life before the workman, a life to which the perception and creation of beauty, the enjoyment of real pleasure that is, shall be felt to be as necessary to man as his daily bread, and that no man and no set of men can be deprived of this except by mere oppression, which should be resisted to the utmost." Taking the book as a whole, it makes a most interesting and fairly complete history of many phases of the English socialist movement. And when we remember that it has only been twenty years since the Social Democratic Federation was founded, we cannot feel but that in spite of all discouragements and obstacles, and in few countries have they been greater, the English comrades have accomplished much of which to be proud. A portrait of each of those whose opinions are given adds very much to the value of the work. The sketches have been compiled by H. Quelch, editor of *Justice*, in which paper most of the sketches previously appeared, and he is to be congratulated upon the excellent piece of work he has done, a work that will gain in value as the years pass by, and one by one the pioneers of socialism drop away and are no longer left to tell their own story.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The two most significant articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* are undoubtedly the studies which are being made of the Stock Yards and the South Chicago Steel works, by Charles J. Bushnell and John M. Gillette, respectively. The study of the Stock Yards opens with a remarkable quotation from a recent "Market Bulletin," from which the following selection is taken: "The most remarkable and far-reaching development of the last fifteen years, and the most important in its bearing upon the welfare of the whole people, is the rapidly growing demonstration of the fact that the daily necessities of life can be produced and their distribution accomplished on a large scale much cheaper than on a small scale; that the greater economy and superior facilities secured by large combinations of capital, labor and talent make them more successful in supplying the wants of the people than is possible for individual effort or a large number of small independent concerns which do not adopt modern methods . . . The final result of such improved methods and means on the part of those who supply the world with food and other necessities has always been the greatest good to the greatest number, and this development may eventually resolve itself into universal co-operation." This industry, established less than forty years ago, has now grown to the point where "225,000 of Chicago's population get their living directly from the business activities of the square mile occupied by the Union Stock Yards, and another 225,000 get their living indirectly from the same source." An elaborate diagram with maps shows that even in 1877 the market for the meats of the Yards was confined to the United States and immediately adjacent country, while in 1900 there is scarce a spot of habitable land on the earth that does not use its products. The process of evolution by which meat products have been rendered more permanent and capable of wider shipment, with the utilization of by-products, is explained. The article in the present number is but one of a series which should be of great value to any social student. The study of South Chicago is concerned with "culture agencies," and is rather pedantic. There is a surplus of classification in propor-

tion to matter. A little familiarity with the pedagogical work of Prof. Lewey of the same university would have saved his saying some very foolish things about education, as, for example, where he protests against a "system of schools which prescribes like education for the most diverse populations," because "in a laboring community it is not a question of culture in the lower reaches of education, nor of a preparatory school for higher educational institutions, but of a preparation for a life which all know that ninety-nine out of every hundred must enter." For this purpose he urges sewing and cooking for the girls and industrial and technical work for the boys. Aside from the amazing ignorance which this displays of pedagogical reasons for the use of manual training, it is refreshing to see the manner in which it is taken for granted that we are always to have a nation divided into slaves and masters. He noticed the fact, which is quite complimentary to the comrades of South Chicago, that "The Socialist Party carries on a campaign of education constantly and is doing a real service for South Chicago. Weekly meetings are held. Speakers of ability are provided who address the members and auditors on topics pertaining to labor conditions. Free discussion is participated in by those interested." If he had attended a few of these lectures he would not have closed his article with the statement that "The incentive and initiative and substantial means for realization must come from without; for certainly they do not exist within the needy district."



EDITORIAL



ROOSEVELT—A CHARACTER SKETCH

Nothing could better illustrate the uselessness of assassination as a means of accomplishing political changes than the results of the cowardly murder of President McKinley. Roosevelt has at once declared his intention of continuing unchanged the policy of his predecessor. The same cabinet will remain, and it is certain that whatever deviation may follow will not be in the directions desired by the enemies of the previous administration. Nothing could more perfectly demonstrate the socialist contention that present governments are but committees to carry out the will of the ruling economic class. So long as that economic rule is undisturbed, no change of officials, administrations, or even forms of government, will have any great effect upon social conditions.

There can be no denying, however, that the man who now occupies the presidential chair possesses in many ways the strongest individuality of any man who has occupied that chair since the time of Lincoln. Strange as it may seem, Roosevelt is at once the counterpart and the antithesis of the great liberator of the slaves. Lincoln was the finest flower of competition. He was the greatest example of the self-made man known to history. He was the true child of the American frontier, where more than anywhere else since man rose from savagery "all men have been created equal." He was the best product of the poverty of the broad prairie, the trackless forest and the open sky,—the poverty that really ennobles, strengthens and develops, even though it does so by the crude and cruel process of "eliminating the unfit."

In the same way Roosevelt represents the best that fully developed monopolistic capitalism can produce. A child of wealth, he had and used from his earliest days the best that capitalism could give. Physically and mentally he received all that control over the labor of wage-slaves could give. The result is worthy of examination. Both Roosevelt and Lincoln presented remarkable physical characteristics. But one was the sinewy strength of honest toil; the other the carefully trained muscles of the gymnasium athlete. One had the quiet courage that comes from continuous combat with Nature in an effort

to subdue her to the service of man. The other has the ferocious bravado of the prize-fighter, who fights for the love of battle. The one was forced by the demands of his surroundings to extraordinary exertions. The other preaches the "strenuous life" as a theoretical duty. Intellectually Lincoln was the pupil of the forest, the stream, the prairie and his fellow men, and from them gained the broad yet keen knowledge of men and things for which the world now knows him best. Roosevelt is the intellectual child of the university and the library, with their classified and encyclopedic, but artificial and second-hand knowledge. To repeat,—one is the climax of all that is good in competition; the other is the synthesis of the best in monopolistic plutocracy. Both, while men of commanding ability, leave something to be desired.

It is not without significance that these two men appeared at the time they did. With the completion of the period of Reconstruction, that really closed the Civil War, the competitive stage in American society reached its height and began to merge into monopoly. With the coming of Roosevelt there is every reason to believe that the monopolistic stage has reached its height, and must soon give way to the era of co-operation. We may rest assured that during the seven years of the reign of Roosevelt (for only a miracle can prevent his election in 1904) all the powers of government will be used in the interest of concentrated wealth. Just because Roosevelt is the incarnation of the spirit of plutocracy will it appear that he is consciously directing social machinery according to his individual ideas. For the very reason that he is so perfectly adapted to the purposes of capitalism it will appear as if he were formulating and directing instead of merely reflecting those purposes.

THE STEEL STRIKE

The steel strike is now but a part of the history of industrial warfare in America. The first great battle between trustified industry and union labor has been fought and the union has been defeated at every point. Many mills previously union will henceforth be operated as non-union. It goes without saying that this means a reduction of wages to the point fixed by individual bargaining,—that is, at the point where the weakest can manage to live. There is a sad and regretful sort of satisfaction in the fact that the South Chicago mills will be one of the first to feel this change. It will be remembered that the workers in these mills gained for themselves the adulation of their masters and the curses of their fellow workers by playing the traitor in time of battle. Their excuse for so doing was that they had a contract with one of the companies which had subsequently disappeared into the United States Steel Company, in order the better and quicker to destroy the force of that and similar contracts protecting the

laborers. The capitalist papers all joined in a chorus of praise of these laborers for their "honest integrity and good sense." Now, even before the strike is fairly over, the Steel trust has proceeded to break this much praised contract by declaring the South Chicago mills non-union. So far, not one of our highly moral newspapers has seen fit to even mention this fact, to say nothing of protesting against it.

This strike, however, has taught all laborers, and especially all union men, the elements of some much needed lessons. The tone of self-confident bravado with which some of the officers of trades unions last winter announced their ability to meet the trusts in open warfare on the industrial field is heard no more. All who have intelligence and honesty left to fairly face the situation are forced to admit that the trades unions of this country are on the eve of the most critical stage in their existence. There is not the slightest doubt but what the men who are in control of the steel trust will at once adopt the methods which have proven successful in the present struggle in the other lines of industry controlled by them. This means that if the labor unions are even to maintain an existence they must unite upon a broader scale than ever before. Not only must the antiquated idea of "trade autonomy" be given up, but the battle must be shifted to the political field, where the interests of all producers, irrespective of the nature of their work, are the same and where the whole question of economic subjection or independence can be settled once for all.

The socialists have been explaining these facts to the world of union labor with all possible energy, while at every seat of conflict the strikers have been deluged with socialist literature. That their work was not in vain is already evident. President Schaffer was himself forced to point out in his Labor Day speech that the time had now come when laborers must use the ballot if they would make an effective fight. If this lesson has really been thoroughly learned by the striking steel workers the result of the fight will prove the dearest-bought victory ever gained by organized capital.

Prof. George D. Herron has found it necessary on account of his health to drop all literary work, and has taken a trip to Europe for a vacation. On this account the department of "Socialism and Religion" will be indefinitely suspended. In the meantime, however, Prof. Herron promises to furnish us with a series of articles on the socialist movement in Europe.

Our next number will contain an article on "The Courts of the Poor," by Clarence S. Darrow, the eminent Chicago attorney. This article is one which is bound to attract great attention, and we have no hesitation in saying it is the most powerful arraignment of modern legal and judicial practice that has ever been put into the English language.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

We have just issued a new propaganda booklet entitled **SOCIALISM**, containing half-tone portraits of Karl Marx and Emile Vandervelde, the full text of the platform adopted at Indianapolis by the Unity Convention of the Socialist Party, instructions for organizing Socialist Locals, detailed descriptions of the best low-priced Socialist literature, and the addresses of the principal Socialist periodicals of the United States. The booklet has 32 pages, with transparent parchment cover, and is exactly similar in size and style to a number of the Pocket Library of Socialism. For the reason, however, that this booklet serves to introduce our literature to new readers, we offer it at less than cost, 10 cents a dozen or 60 cents a hundred by mail, or \$3.35 a thousand by express. This is beyond all comparison the cheapest socialist literature ever offered. The platform of the Socialist Party is in itself a powerful argument to any thinking man, and in this attractive form it will be tenfold more likely to be preserved and read than if offered in the form of a cheap circular. This booklet will assist any Socialist Local to increase its mem-

bership, and will be an invaluable help to any socialist desiring to organize a new Local.

SOCIALISM VS. ANARCHY.

The popular excitement over the shooting of McKinley has been utilized by reactionaries, especially outside the large cities, to intensify the prejudice of ignorant people against Socialism. It is important that socialists meet this situation with a vigorous campaign of education. On Sept. 15, A. M. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, delivered at the Socialist Temple a lecture on **SOCIALISM vs. ANARCHY**, a portion of which with some revision appears in this number of the *REVIEW*. The lecture in full is printed as No. 31 of the Pocket Library of Socialism and will be mailed to any address for 5 cents a copy, 10 for 30 cents; 40 for \$1.50. Stockholders in our co-operative company can get copies at \$1.00 a hundred.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

This booklet by May Walden Kerr is No. 28 of the Pocket Library of Socialism. It is an attempt to state in language which will be easily understood by people who have not been trained

to abstract thinking, the every-day facts which should convince every woman that her own personal interests will be served by the change from capitalism to socialism. The booklet is unlike anything heretofore published and seems to meet a want, as is indicated by the fact that the first edition of 5,000 copies is nearly exhausted.

TRUSTS AND IMPERIALISM.

This address by H. Gaylord Wilshire has already been published in various forms and has proved itself a valuable propaganda pamphlet. In the convenient Pocket Library shape it will have a larger circulation than ever.

A SKETCH OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

This is by H. W. Boyd Mackay. It is an important contribution to the historical argument for socialism, starting as it does, with the primitive conditions of prehistoric man and tracing the growth of society through various forms of slavery to the form now prevailing, with a suggestion of the social changes for the better that are now impending. It will be a useful pamphlet for those who imagine that present conditions always have prevailed and always will prevail. (Pocket Library, No. 30.)

LETTERS FROM STOCKHOLDERS.

We have in various issues of the REVIEW published letters from our stockholders showing how they are satisfied with our plan of supplying socialist literature at cost. We subjoin here a few more letters which

have never yet been published and which corroborate the statements made in former issues of the REVIEW:

"Replying to your circular of 11th inst., I wish to say that my business relations with you since I became a stockholder have been all right. Your promptness in filling orders is especially pleasing to one who has had much trouble about delays, in other lines of business. My only regret is that I am not able to make my investment larger."

E. Howard Randall, Springfield, O.

"I am pleased to state that the \$10.00 I invested in your Company some time ago has been used to my satisfaction. The literature you publish is indeed very instructive and should be used freely by all wage-earners, and I can recommend others to assist in the same way."

John Bray, Dorchester, Mass.

"I freely grant your request to write expressing my views regarding the way I believe the \$10.00 I invested in stock in your Company was used. I believe it was honestly used to further the cause of Socialism and I have never regretted having invested that much. Would be glad to take more stock on same terms if I could, as I want to do all I can for the cause."

J. R. Morgan, Sunshine, Utah.

"In regard to my investment of stock in the International Socialist Review, let me say that I am very well satisfied with it, purely from a financial point of view. In discounts on literature I consider I have had my money repaid, besides enabling me to place books and pamphlets where I knew they have done good work for Socialism. I regard it as a good investment."

Z. Roberts,

St. Anthony Park, Minn.

"I beg to assure you of my complete satisfaction with the work you are doing for the cause of socialism. I am fully content with my purchase of a share of stock, as a direct contribution toward the propagation of the social gospel, independently of the personal benefits derived."

J. M. McGregor, Slocan, B. C.,
Canada.

"I consider the money invested in the stock of Charles H. Kerr & Co., publishers of socialist literature (of Chicago), one of the best for the work of sowing the seed for which the harvest will come later on, when we can all be secured from the great competitive system now in its dying agonies, and will say to all comrades to agitate and spread the gospel."

S. D. Mercer, Lenox, Ia.

"I deem it the duty of every person who believes there is a better way than the existing social and economic system to do all in his power to aid in bringing it into existence. It is only by each man doing his part, contributing his mite, be it a greater or less sum, that an active propaganda can be maintained. Hence I have subscribed for one share of stock in your company as the best means within my knowledge of making my contribution. I feel assured that any fund placed at your disposal will be faithfully administered and will yield its fullest possible returns in forwarding the great

work before us. I would urge every friend of humanity to do likewise—not at some indefinite period in the future, but *now*. The enemies of the people are active all along the line, new chains are constantly being forged, the time for a peaceful propaganda is growing shorter with each passive day, and we should do our utmost while there is yet opportunity."

H. B. Congdon, Tulare, Cal.

We already have stockholders in 200 cities and towns of the United States. We ought to have a stockholder in every city where there is a group of socialists. The extra capital which would come from the new stock subscriptions would enable us to increase our output of socialist literature as fast as the movement requires it, and the privilege of buying socialist literature at cost will enable the socialists who subscribe for stock to flood their neighborhood with socialist literature at the lowest possible cost to themselves.

We are now offering an increased variety of books at stockholders' prices. Send \$10.00 for a share of stock. Address

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The Principles of Social Progress

Rev. William Thurston Brown, of Rochester, N. Y., whose name is familiar to all readers of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, writes as follows:

"James Bale Morman, A. B., of this city, has written a book entitled 'The Principles of Social Progress, which brings to mind Henry Demarest Lloyd's declaration that 'we are in the rapids of a new era.' Many thinking men agree with this statement. They discern an industrial and social awakening. They perceive changes that have taken place within a century—changes that have been peaceful and silent, coming almost without observation. Following closely upon these developments there has come a sociological literature, and to this literature Mr. Morman has made a worthy addition in his book. A considerable number of the pamphlets and books which have been written during the past decade or two have tended more to obscure than to illuminate the subject, affording a shallow and misleading treatment. Mr. Morman has given to the public a conspicuously clear, judicial and thoughtful treatise. His book implies a remarkable breadth of intellectual grasp upon the subject, together with original research, wide reading and careful thinking. And it is written in the best of diction. It is one of the few essentially scientific treatments of the social problem, and it is doubtful if an equally broad survey of history and biology in their relation to social evolution can be found in print within the scope of 240 pages. The institutions of society and government are traced back to their biological origin, and then the direction in which social development is tending and the way of intelligent co-operation with those elemental tendencies are shown with great clearness and cogency of argument. It is the work of an optimist, but of one whose optimism rests upon the secure basis of extensive study, profound thought and clear reasoning. Very few books dealing with the burning questions of the day are so well suited as this to meet the needs of such a wide variety of readers. It is a distinctly patriotic service that Mr. Morman has rendered, and no one will lay this book down after a careful reading without a sense of obligation to its author."

"The Principles of Social Progress" is a book of 200 pages, printed in clear type on extra paper and bound in a style equal to books usually sold at \$1.00. By special arrangement with the author we can send it postpaid to any address for 50 cents. We do not publish it and our lowest price to stockholders is 43 cents by mail or 35 cents at this office. Address

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